

























# ARS ISLAMICA

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# ERRATA

## *Ars Islamica*, Volume V, Part 1

Page 27, footnote 16, l. 7 and 8 of Arabic text: *read* شمس الدين بى عبد الله بن محمد بن بى

*for* شمس الدين بن عبد الله بن محمد بن

l. 9 of Arabic text: *read* عبد الله بن بى القسم

*for* عبد الله بن القسم.

l. 7 of translation: *read* (a)bī-'Abdallāh *for* son of (a)bī-'Abdallāh.

Page 29, Figs. 8 and 9: *read* Godard *for* Goddard.

Page 50, Fig. 13: *read* Grabmoschee *for* Grabwoschee.

Page 51, Figs. 15-17: *read* Moscheen *for* Moschee.

Page 53, l. 28: *read* sich an der der *for* sich ander der.

Page 54, l. 4: *read* (von 1330)<sup>9</sup>.

l. 6: *omit* footnote 9.

Page 67, l. u: *omit* Fig. 17.

Page 70, Grave 17 (a): *read* Fig. 40 *for* Fig. 39.

Grave 18 (b): *omit* Fig. 40.

Page 71, l. 17: *read* Fig. 36 *for* Fig. 42.

Page 77, Fig. 40: *read* 17 (a) *for* 18 (b).

Page 81, l. 7: *omit* 37.

l. 10: *read* Fig. 40 *for* Fig. 39.

l. 25: *read* Fig. 39 *for* Fig. 43.

Page 83, l. 14: *read* Fig. 22 *for* Fig. 24.

l. 16: *read* Figs. 19, 23, 41 *for* Figs. 21, 26, 44.

l. 17: *read* Fig. 15 *for* Fig. 18.

l. 21: *read* Fig. 21 *for* Figs. 23, 35.

Page 84, l. 7: *add* Fig. 27.

l. 17: to Forms *add* 32.

l. 25: *omit* 22, *add* 17.

l. 28: *add* Forms 23, 30.

Page 87, Fig. 3: *read* Folio 29 *for* Folio 9.

Page 91, l. 4: *read* hand *for* head.

Page 93, l. 4: *omit* square brackets which contain dates.

Page 100, col. 1, l. 5: *read* un *for* une.

col. 1, l. 15: *omit* d'.

col. 1, l. 19: *add* à situer *after* contraire.

col. 2, l. 5: *read* لله الامر من عمل الحسن بن محمد بل ومن بعد

ويؤمئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

col. 2, l. 36: *read* thirty-six areas *for* thirty-six times.





ARS ISLAMICA is published in two parts each year by the University of Michigan through the Research Seminary in Islamic Art, a division of the Institute of Fine Arts. The first number was issued in 1934. The first four volumes were edited by Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, who resigned his position in the University of Michigan in the spring of 1938. His successor, Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, will henceforth be in charge of the journal. The delay in appearance of the current number is owing to difficulties that arose in connection with the printing.

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J. G. WINTER

*Director of the Institute of Fine Arts*



ARS ISLAMICA





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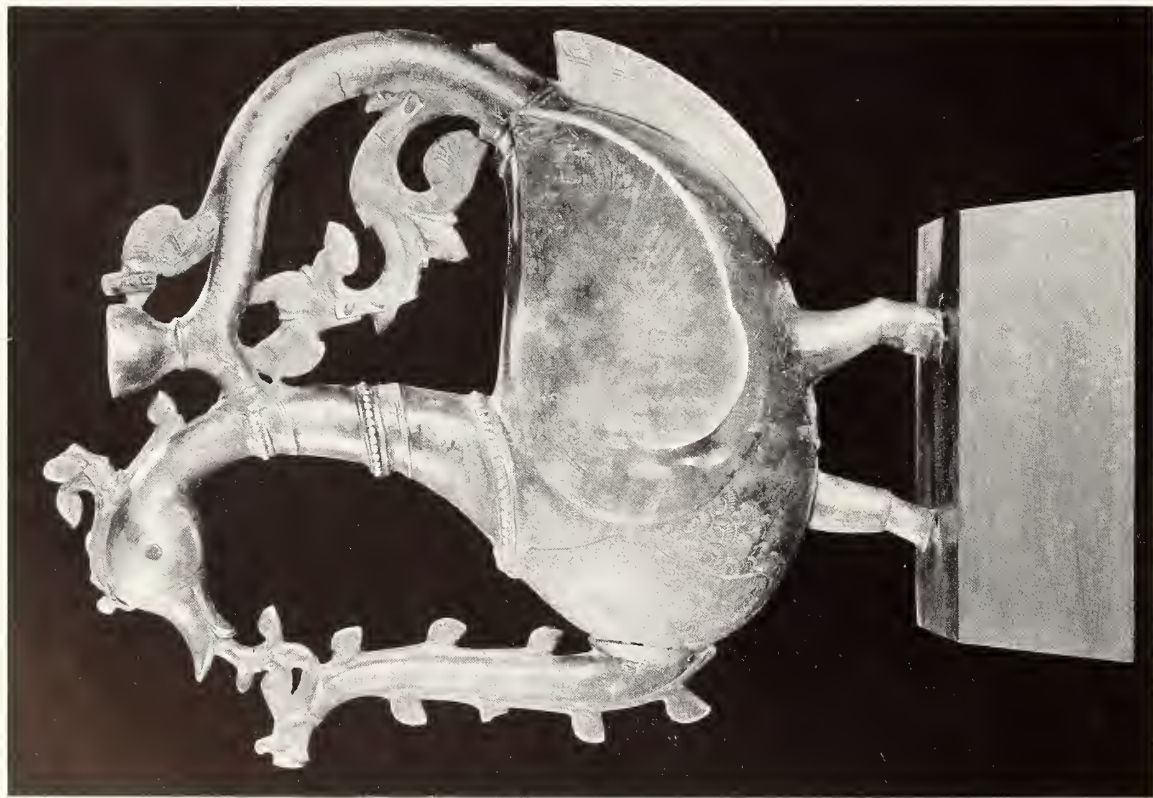


FIG. 1

BRASS AQUAMANILE, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

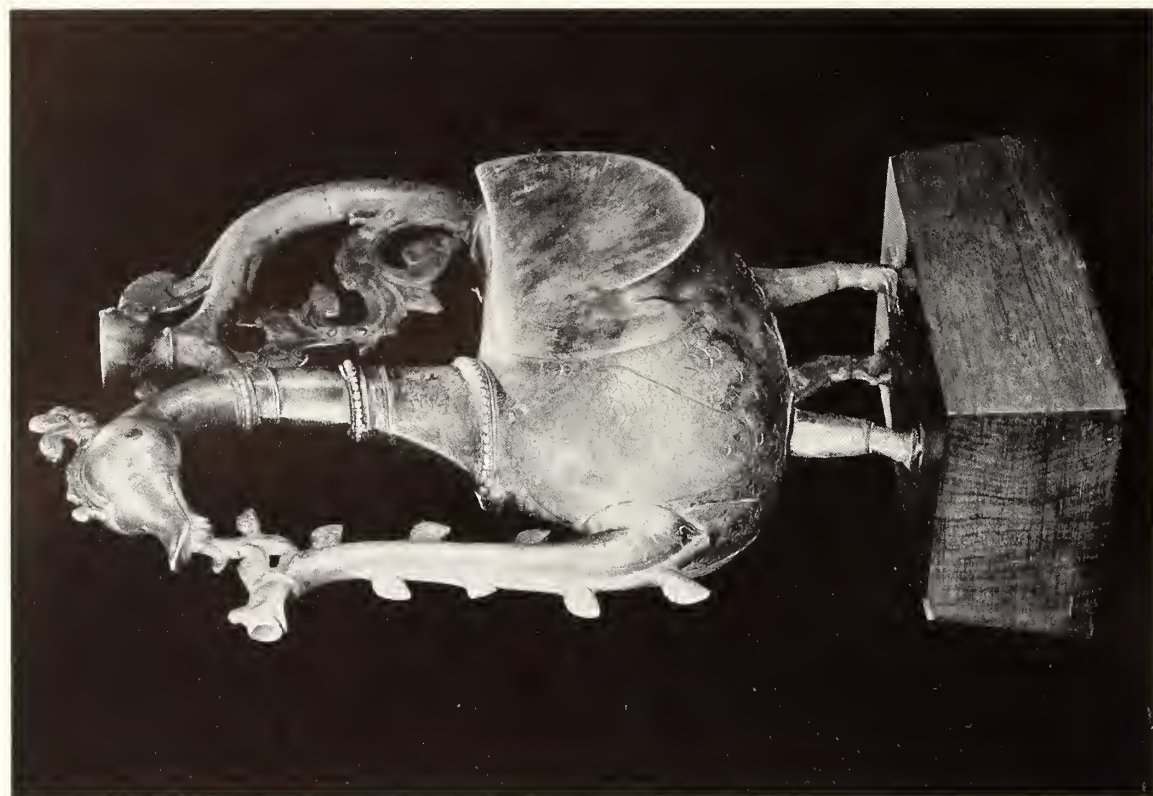


FIG. 2

## AN AQUAMANILE AND SOME IMPLICATIONS

BY ERIC SCHROEDER

A VERY CURIOUS BRASS AQUAMANILE, APPARENTLY FALLING INTO THE ABYSMAL CATEGORY of post-Sassanian metalwares, has been acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>1</sup> Its resemblance to the celebrated aquamanile once in the collection of Count Bobrinsky and now in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad<sup>2</sup> is still striking; it must have been even more so before the Bobrinsky ewer lost its spout, which was probably in form similar to the curved pipe spouts usual on ewers in the East (and even in Europe).<sup>3</sup> Such a spout has been fortunately preserved on the Boston piece (*Figs. 1-3*).

The latter is large and very boldly conceived. It stands 38.5 cm. high, and represents a diving bird, crested and tailed with formalized vegetation.<sup>4</sup> From its breast curls a spout in serpent form, plumed with formalized leaves; and what appears to be the serpent's tail curves up as a hollow handle, in the upper end of which is a small flaring mouth, and the hinge for a lid now lost. A third "leg" in front of the two which natural analogy implies assists stability.

Originally cast in brass,<sup>5</sup> the work was engraved with formalized feather and vegetable designs, next plated with silver; the engraved lines were then filled with a lacquer which is now quite insoluble with age and can hardly be analyzed.<sup>6</sup> It appears to be a golden-toned lacquer rather inexpertly and unevenly tinted with black. Most of the silver plating is now worn off, and some modern owner saw fit to "rebeautify" the work by re-engraving the feather design on the absolutely smooth-worn breast, and by filing off the thin, and no doubt battered, extreme edge of the wings. A malachite paste of very small crystals in a vegetable gum is inlaid in the bird's eye.

Under the left wing is scratched an inscription in very bad and rough nastaliq, which can be read as:

سلطان بکچم سلمان غیاثہ سنان

Sultān Bakcham Salmān, glorious is his splendor.<sup>7</sup>

The oxidation of the inscription scratches, though advanced enough to indicate an age of some centuries, does not compare with that of the old feather and leaf designs, which must be

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue No. 37.470. I am indebted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen for the original suggestion that this work was made in India, and to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy for almost all the Vedic material which I have used in my explanation, as well as for certain information on details of Indian art.

<sup>2</sup> H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 436 and 577.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., a centaur aquamanile in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, illustrated in the catalogue of the exhibition of Master Bronzes at the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, 1937, illus. 119.

<sup>4</sup> For an earlier example of a water bird whose vegetal quality is expressed in the same way, cf. the crane standing between the two cosmic trees on the silver-gilt Sassanian vase formerly in the Botkin collec-

tion, Leningrad, in K. Erdmann, "Sasanidische Kunst," *Bilderhefte der Islamischen Abteilung* (Berlin, 1937), Hft. 4.

<sup>5</sup> W. J. Young made the examination of the ewer which affords the given details.

<sup>6</sup> If the recipe is the same as a traditional one, it is made of equal parts of badulla milk, stick lac, hal-tree rosin, and old yak milk. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (Broad Campden, 1908), p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> The Salmān and the initial letter of the word read as *ghiyāyathu* are really illegible. For an Indian example of final *nūn* made with two distinct and inadequately curved strokes, cf. a coin of 948 H. (1541-42 A.D.) in S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Sultans of Delhi* (London, 1884), pp. xxi-xxii.



considered as some centuries older. The Turkish name or epithet "Bakcham" in combination with the title "sultan" may indicate that the ewer was at some time used by a Mughal officer, since the Mughals used the title for military officers not of the highest rank, and Turkish names were fairly common among them.<sup>8</sup>

This inscription is, of course, Islamic, and a goose is a not unknown form for Islamic ewers.<sup>9</sup>

What distinguishes the Boston, and perhaps originally the Bobrinsky, ewer is the addition of the snake, which Iranian auspicious decoration in general sedulously avoided. Its rare occurrence on a carpet, for instance, is generally symptomatic of Indian workmanship.<sup>10</sup> It is found in Islamic art, far from Persia, on a Hispano-Moresque bowl of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries;<sup>11</sup> and in Persia, far from the Avestic period, when Timūrid art had digested it along with other Chinese elements.<sup>12</sup> The snake in Avestic religion is sinister and malevolent: "When a serpent is in a jar in which there is wine, both are useless and polluted" (*Shayast la shayast*, II, 33). A Persian post-Sassanian attribution is therefore out of the question.

The nearest parallel to the ewer is to be found in the brasswork of south India. Foliate or flamelike decoration in sheet metal combined with round sculptural forms is characteristic of Indian metal-casting.<sup>13</sup> In general style a duck-shaped betel-leaf box on a wheeled tray now in the Madras Museum<sup>14</sup> comes fairly close: the formalized body, the crest, the spray in the bill, and perhaps even a suggestion of a snake in the tail (*Fig. 4*). The curious engraved design of the leaves of the Boston piece is very like that on the tail of a bird which surmounts a lamp also in the Madras Museum<sup>15</sup> (*Fig. 5*). The modeling of the snake's head, however, seems to resemble that of the griffin in the base of the sixth-century Kangra statuette rather than that of a comparable south-Indian piece.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, numerous differences suggest themselves that prevent our attributing the Boston piece to south India of the late medieval period which the Madras brasses represent for the most part. None of the numerous birds in the Madras collection shows that peculiar arch gaiety in the attitude and modeling of the head which distinguishes our gander. Where south-Indian modeling is equally vivid, it is vivid in a true Indian way, with a full and "swelling" plasticity. The well-known horse from Trichinopoly<sup>17</sup> and some equestrian statuettes now

<sup>8</sup> See A. S. Beveridge, *Humayun-Nama* (London, 1902), p. 174 *et passim*.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., the Paris example, G. Migeon, "L'Orient musulman," *Documents d'art* (Paris, 1922), No. 36, and the more mysterious one at Leningrad, J. Orbeli and C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide* (Moscow, 1935), p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Migeon, *op. cit.*, No. 128.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 250.

<sup>12</sup> H. Rivière, *La céramique dans l'art musulman* (Paris, 1913-14), II, Pl. 91, is a later example. For a Timurid example, which, though derived from the Far East, shows the snakes being attacked by the more auspicious lion- and boar-heads, see M. Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings of the Fifteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1935), Fig. 7.

<sup>13</sup> And very old. It is found not only in Khmer bronzes, such as in G. Coedès, "Bronzes Khmers," *Ars. asiat.*, V (1923), Pls. XXXVI and XXXIX, but in a small example at Taxila, described in *Archaeol. Surv. India, Ann. Rept.*, 1919-20, Pl. X, No. 10.

<sup>14</sup> E. Thurston, V. Asari, and W. S. Hadaway, *Illustrations of Metal Work in Brass and Copper* (Madras, 1913), No. 151.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 133.

<sup>16</sup> See Ph. Vogel, "Inscribed Brass Statuette from Fatehpur (Kangra)," *Archaeol. Surv. India, Ann. Rept.*, 1904-5, pp. 107-9, for the southern piece. Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, No. 77.

<sup>17</sup> O. C. Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes* (Calcutta, 1915), Pl. LXXXIII.



in Madras<sup>18</sup> are fine examples of the qualities which this gander lacks. The more formalized animal sculptures of south India are without exception more compact, chubbier, and stiffer.<sup>19</sup> Nothing like the strange formula for the wing occurs in the south-Indian brasses. A fifteenth-century gander at Tāḍpatri,<sup>20</sup> however, uses it, although in most ways it has little in common with this representation. Again, the formalized leaves of this piece are far less serried<sup>21</sup> and proportionally far thinner<sup>22</sup> than in comparable south-Indian work. In fact, the tail tree resembles very closely the foliate genitalia of the monster upon a Sassanian plate in the British Museum.<sup>23</sup> Nor is anything like the extensive engraved design on the wing to be found on the published southern work which is known to the writer. Early metalwork in the south appears to have been mainly in bronze, and probably no other piece of brass found in India antedates the sixth-century Buddha image found at Kangra, in a region where Sassanian contacts<sup>24</sup> must have produced a familiarity with brass which we have not adequate reason to assume existed in the south.<sup>25</sup> Lacquer being traditionally associated with Moradabad near Delhi, and the added Muhammadan inscription suiting well the supposition that this was found in a Muhammadan state, the Boston ewer may be provisionally assigned to north India and to the period of the Delhi sultanate, and must be accounted the chief representative of the practically unknown metalwork of medieval Muhammadan India.

Minor pieces of evidence consistent with the above attribution are the malachite paste and the use of brass. Malachite paste seems to have disappeared<sup>26</sup> from the stock of materials used by the craftsmen who made the surviving pieces of old household brass; and its presence here helps to refer the piece under discussion to an older or unrepresented period. If it be objected that the brassworkers of the Delhi sultanate cannot have been numerous, since nothing of their work survives, it must be pointed out that within three years of Muḥammad ibn Tughluḳ's attempt to introduce a forced fiduciary coinage of brass at Delhi imitations

<sup>18</sup> Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, Figs. 95-98.

<sup>19</sup> Gangoly, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, a sixth-century work, has already the characteristic thickset southern look.

<sup>20</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), Fig. 247.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gangoly, *op. cit.*, Pl. LX.

<sup>22</sup> From the scale drawings illustrated in Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, it appears usual for the leaves to be at least 4 or 5 mm. thick. The leaves on the Boston ewer are only about 2 mm. thick.

<sup>23</sup> O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London, 1926), No. 210, Pl. XL. The "propriety" of the resemblance is particularly marked since this tail tree is an emblem of fertility. It is worth noting that the peacock-like feathers of the tail of the British Museum monster are exactly the same as the plumage of the Boston bird.

<sup>24</sup> The ill-known but strong admixture of Persian culture in northwest India was quite old—for example,

the Persian standard for coins replaced both the Attic and old native purana standards in late Hellenistic times in India. Cf. P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins—Greek and Scythic Kings* (London, 1886), pp. lxvii-lxviii.

<sup>25</sup> The south Indians had to import brass in Roman times, and the costliness of metal must have restricted its use. Base metal was used for coins in the south. For the Roman attempt to improve the northern trade route which worked, together with the unification of the Yueh-Chi dominions, to isolate and restrict trade (and the influences which it brings) in the south, see E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 267 and 291.

<sup>26</sup> I owe this information to Dr. Coomaraswamy. Green stones are used in India, but they appear to be the yellower chrysoprase or the darker jasper. In any case the paste is unusual. Malachite was found near Tūs in *Khurāsān*. Cf. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-43; and G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 389.

were so innumerable that the Sultan was obliged to take up the whole issue, forgeries and all, at its face value in silver, in the year 732 H. (1332 A.D.).<sup>27</sup>

Two minor pieces, apparently from Rajputana or the northwest, and close in style to the south-Indian animal brasses at Madras, have been published. They appear to date from some period more immediately preceding the Mughal conquest (*Fig. 6*).<sup>28</sup>

If the Boston piece is peculiarly conclusive in its Indian character, it may perhaps serve as a point of vantage from which to observe certain other pieces. One of the best-known post-Sassanian pieces is the Bobrinsky ewer in the Hermitage Museum. It, along with the Boston goose, presents a sharp contrast to that series of Sassanian and post-Sassanian pieces which may be termed purely Iranian.

A steady evolution of style may be traced, for instance, in the following works: the British Museum griffin from the Helmund,<sup>29</sup> the throne-leg in the Rabenou collection,<sup>30</sup> the gander from Daghistan in the Hermitage,<sup>31</sup> the Bobrinsky horse,<sup>32</sup> the Bobrinsky cock,<sup>33</sup> the Bobrinsky lion<sup>34</sup> (all in the Hermitage). The whole progressively abstract series is unmistakably Iranian in character, and the two ewers stand outside the series, both closer to one another than to any member of it.

The Bobrinsky gander has, like the Boston bird, many resemblances to south-Indian metalwork. Its general air of stiff rotundity is close to the latter style. The modeling of the head,<sup>35</sup> the cere, the "eyebrow,"<sup>36</sup> and the crest<sup>37</sup> can be exactly paralleled in India. The embossed crooks in the tail are characteristically Indian,<sup>38</sup> and have no parallel in Persian metal (*Fig. 5*). The form and engraving of the "leaves" in the outer part of the tail is as characteristic of Indian work<sup>39</sup> as the joining of the tips,<sup>40</sup> although no precise parallel for such leaves so joined occurs. The flattened leg, again, is Indian (*Fig. 7*),<sup>41</sup> and the accumulation of these resemblances must weigh heavily against the uniqueness which has distinguished the famous and mysterious brass. It seems possible in view of the saddle-like plate over the bird's back that a figure of Brahma, the gander-rider par excellence, or of his consort, Sarasvati, once graced the ewer, and that the handle was originally fixed to his shoulder. If this were so,<sup>42</sup> the thing was, of course, hardly Muhammadan. Its resemblances to the south-Indian work being

<sup>27</sup> S. Lane Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

<sup>28</sup> O. C. Gangoly, "A Collection of Indian Brasses and Bronzes," *Rupam*, 1927, No. 31, p. 82; and two small birds on *Fig. D*.

<sup>29</sup> O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 194.

<sup>30</sup> *Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art* (London, 1931), p. 8, No. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Orbeli and Trever, *op. cit.*, Pl. 80.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 84.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 82.

<sup>34</sup> F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammadanischer Kunst* (Munich, 1912), Taf. 152.

<sup>35</sup> The modeling seems to be that prescribed in the *Rupavāliya*, "The Hamsa has . . . a fishlike face." Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, Figs. 135 A, and 141.

<sup>37</sup> The crest of the Bobrinsky bird is cast in just the same form as the tail of a south-Indian brass bird in the Boston Museum. Cf. Catalogue No. 21.1311, illus. in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections* (Boston, 1923), Pl. LXXI.

<sup>38</sup> Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, Figs. 126 and 133.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 137, the formula for the lion's mask.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Figs. 31 and 114.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 141.

<sup>42</sup> This seems hardly likely, in view of the engraving upon even that part of the "saddle" which would be covered by the rider's leg. Unless the Bobrinsky ewer was originally cast smooth, and the engraving was added after the piece had found its way to the Caucasus, the rider may be taken to be out of the question.





FIG. 3—THE "BOBRINSKY" GANDER EWER  
LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE MUSEUM



FROM GANGOLY

FIG. 6—BRASSES FROM NORTHWEST INDIA  
LATER MEDIEVAL PERIOD

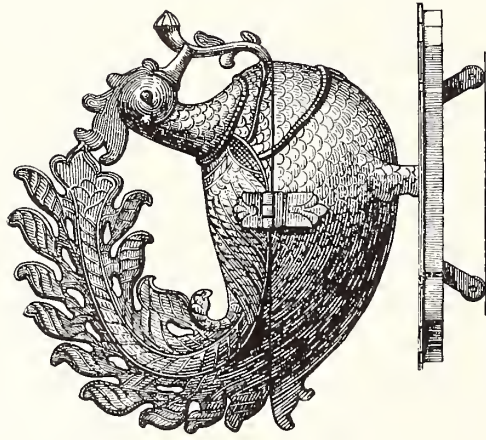


COURTESY OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIG. 8—HANGING OIL LAMP  
BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIG. 9—STUCCO CARVING FROM RAYY, BUWAYHID  
OR SELJUK  
BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



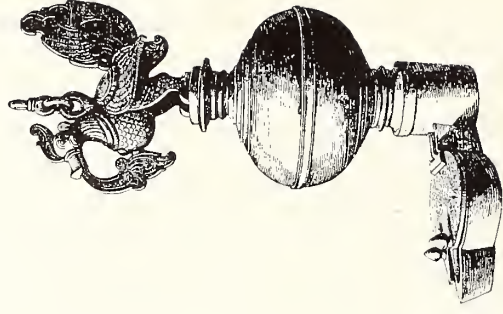
FROM THURSTON, ASARI, AND HADAWAY

FIG. 4—BRASS BETEL-LEAF BOX  
MADRAS, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM



FROM THURSTON, ASARI, AND HADAWAY

FIG. 5—TAIL OF A BIRD ON BRASS LAMP  
MADRAS, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM



FROM THURSTON, ASARI, AND HADAWAY

FIG. 7—INDIAN BRASS LAMP  
MADRAS, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM



slightly remoter in some details than those of the Boston piece, the Bobrinsky ewer may perhaps be referred to an earlier period, the Ghorid or intermediate times as appropriate as any, though a large number of pigeonholes lie conveniently empty.

A third piece of medieval Indian work which may be assigned to the northern states is a small hanging lamp in the Walters Gallery at Baltimore (*Fig. 8*).

The view has been expressed that such works, "off the beaten tracks of classical and canonical Indian sculpture," represent "pre-Aryan fetishes and idols" in "a vernacular plastic language."<sup>43</sup> But the gander, as will be shown, bears every mark of character and kinship which would prove it an Aryan symbol rather than a pre-Aryan fetish;<sup>44</sup> and we are at liberty to ask whether the ewer is not conceived in an Aryan vernacular.

The highly stylized appearance of Persian-Islamic animal sculpture is no doubt due in part to the influence of Islam itself—to the reluctance to make animal forms with too great an air of natural and realistic life. But perhaps in an even greater degree Islam afforded release to an old instinct which had suffered much alteration by successive infusions of Western influence. The native impulse of the Iranian artist was probably always to create, in animal representation, a universal type, however slavishly he imitated an opposite mode. "As we contemplate the more realistic examples of Sassanian sculpture, we seem to feel the presence of an indigenous and hostile element always awaiting its hour."<sup>45</sup> And the same characteristic Aryan feeling has impressed a subtle critic of Indian art: "The Aryan invaders were reluctant to give shape to their work in the likeness of things."<sup>46</sup> The creation of universal types by a high degree of stylization, often on the very edge of heraldic vacuity, is well exemplified on the pedestal of the Kangra brass Buddha mentioned above. The griffins might have been made in thirteenth-century Daghistān; their extraordinary heads are identical in form with those of a stucco griffin at Bamiyān<sup>47</sup> and a Persian (?) hawk now in Berlin.<sup>48</sup> Such a factor gave to the complex classical art of India much of what nervous and abstract vitality it possessed; and perhaps continual influx of northern blood may have contributed to the gradual disappearance of plastic realism during the whole evolution of medieval Indian sculpture.

One of the chief difficulties of the proposed attribution for the two gander ewers is their abstract quality, in strong contrast with the "Indianness" of what would be contemporary stonework. In this connection it is most interesting that the brassworker's caste in northern India enjoys higher consideration than the same caste in the south, and preserves a tradition

<sup>43</sup> Gangoly, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>44</sup> Not only is the gander (represented here and in the collection from Rajputana) absent from the animal art of the old Indus Valley, but its place in the belief of the Aryans is assured in the Vedas, as well as in the art of the most northerly reaches of Indian influence. Cf. the curious representation of either Jatakas or Mazdaean cults on a bowl in the British Museum, illus. in Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXII. The objects venerated on this piece appear to be a gander, a hare, a tree, and perhaps fire (though I cannot find a parallel representa-

tion of that sacred element; the curling form in the left-hand medallion may therefore be another tree).

<sup>45</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. lxxi.

<sup>46</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta, 1933), pp. 15-16.

<sup>47</sup> J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān* (Paris, 1933), Fig. 93.

<sup>48</sup> K. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, abb. 17. This hawk may be Indian, in my opinion, in spite of its resemblance to the Munich stag apparently signed by a Baṣra artist.

of Banyā origin.<sup>49</sup> This implies derivation from the Hūna Rajputs (Ephthalites) who entered India as multitudinous conquerors from the north in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>50</sup> North- and west-Indian brasswork may therefore be considered as affected, if not permeated, by the stylizing vision of Central Asian art—and the anomaly disappears. Here perhaps is also an inherited factor in the success with which Mughal brassworkers imitated Persian forms.

So much of the known art of the Indian Middle Ages is hieratic, and as such powerfully curbed by the iconography of Buddhism and Brahmanism, that it is difficult to realize how large a part of the daily (or religious) life of western India was suffused with "Mazdaean" belief and its characteristic iconography.<sup>51</sup> Of that belief our ewer is a rich expression.

The diving bird, gander, goose, duck, or swan is iconographically a single creature, and may be conveniently referred to under his Indian name of hansa, or the etymologically corresponding English gander.

Neither the metaphysical concept nor its representation here are (except for the presence of the snake) specifically Indian.<sup>52</sup> The gander is a familiar and auspicious Sassanian decoration, and his descendants range over the surfaces of art in Armenia, Italy, Sicily, China, Egypt, and Rhodes. These descendants are swans, sometimes, or even peacocks,<sup>53</sup> for the human propensity to prefer showy substitutes for the divine hawk or gander, to "call Leda's goose a swan," as soon as their religious meaning has become less powerful,<sup>54</sup> is particularly strong among the "civilized" nations of Europe and Asia. The last great recognition of the divinity of the gander was probably the placing of a goose and a goat at the head of the first Crusade.<sup>55</sup>

As to the representation of the gander here, his foliate tail can be found upon a relief from Sorrento,<sup>56</sup> the spray in his bill can be found in medieval Persian pottery,<sup>57</sup> and even, in a very close parallel, on the body of a ninth- or tenth-century ewer from the Malay Peninsula, which has also a serpent mouth.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Sir A. Baines, "Ethnography," *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philol.* (Strassburg, 1912), p. 61.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> Rabindranath Tagore has collected what could justly be called Mazdaean drawings made by modern Bengali women. The term is used in its wide sense, which we owe to the suggestive labors of Josef Strzygowski. These drawings were published by the Indian Publishing House, Calcutta, n.d. How much more purely Mazdaean the life of western India was may be inferred from the fact that India proper only began east of the five rivers in early medieval times.

<sup>52</sup> Jane Ellen Harrison has observed, "Any bird or beast or fish, if he be good for food, or if in any way he arrest man's attention as fearful or wonderful, may become sacred, that is, may be held to be charged with a special mana; but, of all living creatures, birds longest keep their sanctity," *Themis* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 113. At least the fact noted in the latter part of this sentence is significant. For the western survival of the water bird, see *ibid.*, pp. 116 and 207.

<sup>53</sup> The gander of the Goyo Kokuzo at the Toji Monastery at Kanchiin shows the very moment of transformation, and seems already half a peacock. *Japanese Temples and Their Treasures* (Tokyo, 1910), I, 128, and II, Pl. 253. Peacocks are of course common in the later art of India and Burma.

<sup>54</sup> W. H. Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus* (London, 1891), pp. 270-71 and 275.

<sup>55</sup> O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturhistorischer Beziehung*, p. 298; quot. by Goodyear, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>56</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst* (Augsburg, 1930), p. 304.

<sup>57</sup> An early example was found at Susa. See R. Koehlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse* (Paris, 1928), No. 32 B. In metal, cf. the Sassanian bowl at Leningrad, illus. by Orbeli and Trever, *op. cit.*, No. 29.

<sup>58</sup> A. Salmony, "Asiatische Kunst," *Catalogue of the Cologne 1926 Exhibition*, Pl. 6.



The Avestic concept of the gander is called the Karshipt. As usual, Pahlavi writings curdle the ingredients which Vedic authorities blend; but it is sufficiently evident that the Persians inherited, even if they did not comprehend, the same metaphysical gander as the pest of the Indo-Aryan race. Such metaphysical beings have, of course, two aspects: as they perhaps first appeared to the primitive mind, and as they were understood later by metaphysicians, to whom the mystic bird or beast opened the way into infinite godhead. A third stage is their "winter, too, of pale misfeature" when political or religious history has diverted or obliterated the only intelligences capable of understanding and transmitting the meaning of the creature.

Alone among created things, the diving bird goes from the top of the universe to the bottom.<sup>59</sup> "He, putting all the gods in his breast, goes, viewing together all existences."<sup>60</sup> In this way he is a sun bird:<sup>61</sup> the sun is conceived as a gander which circles the universe, flying round its upper bounds, diving into the refreshing ocean, and swimming through the nether waters to the appointed place of its rising: "This indeed is the fire which has entered into the ocean; only by knowing him does one pass over death."<sup>62</sup> How widely distributed this idea was in the ancient world is indicated by the detailed representation of the sun gander both rising and swimming on an archaic cylinder.<sup>63</sup> Apollo's bird was a gander at Daphne and in Delos.<sup>64</sup> The gander, however, was not the only sun bird: an eagle or eagle-griffin appears to be equally venerable, both in Vedic and Avestic belief. With a characteristically Persian confusion, the *Bundahish* tells us that "first of birds, the Sîmurgh (griffin of three natures) was created, not for this world, since here the Karshipt is chief, which they call the falcon."<sup>65</sup> Fortunately the Karshipt is known to be a water bird from other texts;<sup>66</sup> and he is described as receiving the true religion with human words<sup>67</sup> (the petty Zoroastrian relic of the old belief in his power to communicate divine wisdom to the priest-magician)<sup>68</sup> and as scattering seeds

<sup>59</sup> For this reason, the comparison used in *Rig-Veda*, III.8.9, is particularly pointed. There the apotheosis of the divine sacrificial pillar is described as extending heavenward "like geese strung out in a row."

<sup>60</sup> *Atharva-Veda*, X.8.18.

<sup>61</sup> And therefore the usual emblem for the ornamentation of lamps. Such lamps are mentioned by V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago* (Madras, 1904), p. 38, as having been made in India in early times. A good old example is shown by Thurston, Asari, and Hadaway, *op. cit.*, Fig. 118, where the two birds of light are represented as feeding on the waters which are the source or resting place of light in legend. See footnote 86 *infra*.

<sup>62</sup> *Śvetāśvatāra Upanishad*, 6.15. (V.S. 31.8).

<sup>63</sup> O. Weber, *Orientalische Siegelbilder* (Leipzig, 1920), abb. 566.

<sup>64</sup> Goodyear, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Apollo, in the form of a bird, such as a swan or gull, was said to guide emigrants. He came to Delphi in a chariot drawn by swans from the land of the Hyperboreans. Cf. C. Schuster, "Motives in Western Chinese Folk Embroideries," *Monumenta Serica*, II (1936-37), Fasc. 1, 40. Dr. Schuster's learned and interesting treat-

ment of the gander should be studied. It contains much material which I have not referred to, not because it is unimportant, but because my object has been to make the ideas behind the representation of the gander as clear as possible, and therefore in a sense to offer as little material as would serve that purpose.

<sup>65</sup> *Bundahish*, XXIV.11. This is an interesting parallel with the foot or quarter of the sixteen-fold Brahman communicated by the Magdu or diving bird: "He who knows this becomes possessed of a home in this world." *Chândogya Upanishad*, quoted by Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>66</sup> *Zad-Sparam*, XXII.4.

<sup>67</sup> *Bundahish*, XIX.16, and *Zad-Sparam*, XXII.4.

<sup>68</sup> E. W. Hopkins, "Epic Mythology," *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philol.* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 67. The sacred geese of the Capitol at Rome are a more familiar, the duck guide of the Zuni Indian ancestral hero a more recondite, example. The latter had human speech when decked with a string of shells (cf. the pearl necklaces of the Sassanian and Indian ganders). Hansas are stated to be golden when gifted with speech in the *Mahabharata* (III.53.19).

from the Tree of Many Seeds in the Waters from which the angel Tistar gathers water for rain, so that grass and all good plants grow up after the fall of divine moisture. As the Great Bird of this world he is ideologically coeval with the Great Bird of Heaven, the griffin, eagle, or falcon. In Avestic cosmogony they are relegated to a minor role and a subordinate period—whereas to the shaman the original God and man in the beginning floated on the waters like two black ganders;<sup>69</sup> in the Persian the primal role was allotted to the bull.<sup>70</sup>

The concept is much richer in Indian literature. The confused text from the *Bundahish* may at any rate serve to indicate that a notion of the gander as immanent godhead and of the eagle as transcendent godhead was at one time common to the Aryan races, but the idea emerges clearly in Vedic texts. The gander is the spirit (in us); the eagle is the Spirit. For this reason the gander is the guide to all wandering things—to the nomad in the waste, to the man in this world, to the soul turned loose by death—and the eagle is that to or through which he re-enters eternity. Perhaps this is the meaning of the common theme of religious art, the destruction of a gander by an eagle, which is represented on the church of Achthamar in Armenia<sup>71</sup> and upon a pillar in Assam.<sup>72</sup> Such a meaning—the annihilation of the individual soul in the infinite—was probably long forgotten when Buwayhid or Seldjūk carvers worked it on the walls of a palace at Rayy.<sup>73</sup>

The most beautiful description of these birds is in the *Rig-Veda*: “Two fair-winged creatures, united, loving, cling to one Tree, on whose sweet fruit the one feeds, while the other, eating nothing, watches only.”<sup>74</sup> The “Tree” is, of course, the Tree of Creation, in the midst of the waters.<sup>75</sup> As the human spirit, the gander “flutters about thinking that itself and the Actuator are different; but when favoured by Him it attains immortality.”<sup>76</sup> This doctrine, that the human spirit and the Infinite Spirit are one, is, if any one doctrine is, the central doctrine of the Vedas.

<sup>69</sup> H. M. Casanowicz, “Shamanism of the Natives of Siberia,” *Smithson. Rept.*, 1924, p. 416.

<sup>70</sup> *Bundahish*, IV. An account of the primal bull and his function has been given by P. Ackermann, “Some Indo-Iranian Motives in Sasanian Art,” *Indian Art and Letters* (London, 1937), XI, No. 1, 35.

<sup>71</sup> J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

<sup>72</sup> T. Bloch, “Conservation in Assam,” *Archaeol. Surv. India Ann. Rept.*, 1906–7, Fig. 8.

<sup>73</sup> The Rayy plaque has been published in the *Bull. Boston Mus. Fine Arts* (Aug., 1935). For an iconographically identical Muhammadan version of the annihilation of the pearled gander by the hawk in the Berlin Museum, see Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

A very conclusive proof of the special significance of this symbol is its occurrence in a series of transformations which calls for not a hawk but a drake. In the ballad of the coal-black smith, as the female in order to sever herself from the male assumes one female animal form after another, the male assumes the male form of the species, but when “she became a duck, he became a hawk.” This preserves unconsciously but precisely the copulative significance of annihilation, as it is preserved

in Vedic symbolism: “the Sun is the Eater; His dues are the Moon” (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X.6.2.3) and, “there is indeed this couple: the Eater and the Edible. When this pair is joined (i.e., sexually) then it is called the Eater and not the Edible” (*ibid.*, X.6.2.1). The hawk, eagle, or transcendent sun bird destroys the identity of the spirit in this world (which, as we have seen, is the gander) as soon as the latter attains union with it, just as the ocean destroys the identity of a drop of water in the moment that the latter enters it. This creation is conceived as fearing and fleeing God, so that it is “pursued” by the godhead in which inevitably its separation must end.

<sup>74</sup> *Rig-Veda*, I.164.20.

<sup>75</sup> The two birds on the tree are another classic motive in Oriental decoration: in the representations of Oriental animal carpets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italian paintings, this motive appears to be more common than any other. K. Erdmann, “Orientalische Tierteppiche auf Bildern des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrb. preusz. Kunstsamml.*, 50 (1929), 272–73.

<sup>76</sup> *Śvetāśvatāra Upanishad*, I.6.



And so the gander, whose neck curved upon its breast or laid back upon its shoulder is so clear an image of the brooding soul,<sup>77</sup> is the bird which re-enters itself and the bird which re-enters the Waters of Potentiality from which the universe proceeded. But it is the same gander whose unerring migratory instinct, strange cry, and loneliness above other birds suggested and expressed supernatural knowledge to ruder generations in the northern steppes, and the same diver whose eternal rejuvenation in the ocean equated him with the sun. I well remember the thrill of awe with which, while passing through a lonely valley on the northern side of the Hindu Kush, I saw a string of geese flying fast south, and so high overhead in the evening sky that they became visible as black spots only when their wings spread; as their wings folded rhythmically in flight they disappeared from view.

As Guide, the gander is a psychopompos for ascetics in the Indian epic period.<sup>78</sup> It is as such in a high sense that he must be conceived in the verse "only by knowing Him does one pass over death," and as such that he appears in one of the most mysterious and beautiful of English nursery rhymes:

Gray goose and gander  
Waft your wings together,  
And carry the Good King's daughter  
Over the one-strand river.

The iconography of the ewer, however, cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the serpent spout which issues from the gander's breast.<sup>79</sup> The Vedic doctrine of the serpent<sup>80</sup> is that of "nonproceeding, unmanifested godhead, dwelling in darkness," a subterranean reptile who restrains, and again looses, the Rivers of Life. The snake in Indian folk belief is essentially the guardian and giver of wealth, water, and children—who withholds and bestows.<sup>81</sup> By definition serpents are in their restrictive capacity non-Aryan; but by creeping further, or by suffering division or transformation they become Aryan, or cross over to the sunny side of the universe.<sup>82</sup> In this connection it is curious, though perhaps not more than a coincidence, that the serpent of the ewer is divided, Vṛtra-like; and the "transformation" of the serpent, the mark of the agathodaemon, is evident in the little winglike leaves on the spout and handle, always emblematic of growth and generation. The serpent, moreover, is a well-known symbol of continuation and eternity. In the ewer he suggests inexhaustible

<sup>77</sup> The imagery is very explicitly explained in the *Maitri Upanishad*, VI. 34:

The sacrificer seizes the oblation and meditates: "The gold-colored Bird abides in the heart, and in the Sun—a Diver Bird, a Hamsa, strong in splendor; Him we worship in the Fire." Having recited the verse, he discovers its meaning: namely, the adorable splendor of the sun is to be meditated on by him who, abiding within his mind, meditates thereon. Here he attains the place of rest for the mind; he holds it within his own self.

<sup>78</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 160. There may be some unconscious memory of the gander as psychopompos or guide in Grimm's story of the golden goose, where anyone who touches the person carrying the goose

is caught and obliged to follow.

<sup>79</sup> This symbol should be compared with that of the serpent-headed bird, in R. Narasimhachar's, "Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgola," *Epigraphica Carnatica*, II (1923), Pl. XXVI.

<sup>80</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Darker Side of Dawn," *Smithson. Misc. Coll.*, XCIV (1935), No. 1, 2 ff.

<sup>81</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1935), II, 160-61; V, 81; VIII, 316-17.

<sup>82</sup> Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, and "Angel and Titan," *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, LV (1935), No. 4, 385 and 392, note 24.

fullness in the same way as the gander, in folklore a type of discrimination<sup>83</sup> and magically effective against contamination,<sup>84</sup> suggests purity. Serpent worship being particularly widespread in the Punjab, it is possible that we should assign to that region this puzzling compound of Aryan and non-Aryan ideas. In the ancient Aryan religious system, as in many early faiths, religiousness, well-being, and fertility were conceived as mutually dependent states. Heedlessness, crime, or death menaced the very renewal of natural growth. It is by a specifically converted equation that the representation of simple vegetable life becomes the almost universal auspicious decoration of Aryan utensils.

Two more details remain to be noticed. Round the neck of the gander are strings of pearls. In Indian fable pearls are connected with serpents in the fable of Nagarjuna, who during her stay in the nether world received from Vāsuki, the King of the Serpents, pearls born of the tears of the moon god, which were sovereign against poisons.<sup>85</sup> This appears to be a west-Himalayan correspondence with the Manichæan story<sup>86</sup> of the origin of the pearl: it was a form of the invisible divine glory hatched under the sea by the divine diving bird, Zerahav (Zir-i-av "underwater"?). As a manifestation of this glory, pearls were the characteristic decoration of the Sassanian kings of Persia,<sup>87</sup> were taken over along with other attributes of divine kingship by the Byzantines, survived in like fashion in the decorative arts of Islam, and through the imitation of Islamic fabrics rolled all over the textiles of the European Middle Ages. The form in which this legend survived in India is connected with the Asvins, who rode in a swan-drawn car, and were originally conceived as restoring or rescuing the vanished light of the sun.<sup>88</sup>

The spray in the mouth of the gander presumably represents its feeding upon the Tree of Life, mentioned in the verse quoted on page 18. This ancient<sup>89</sup> and zoologically somewhat inappropriate idea survives into Buddhist art;<sup>90</sup> but the human critic has a natural reluctance<sup>91</sup> to identify as a gander a gander which is perching on a tree. The spray appears by analogy with the tail tree<sup>92</sup> to be a lotus, formalized beyond recognition.

<sup>83</sup> As the bird of Svarga Loka, it is able to drink the milk only from a vessel of milk mixed with water. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 85.

<sup>84</sup> The idea that the contamination of drinking vessels by menstruous women can be avoided by obliging the latter to suck their drink up through the bone of a swan, goose, or crane is common to many North American Indian tribes. Fraser, *op. cit.*, X, 49, 50, and 90.

<sup>85</sup> See Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore* (London, 1926), p. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>87</sup> The survival of the belief in the magic virtue of the pearl in the Caucasus is reported by J. Orbeli. For

the ritual filling of a pearl-decorated ewer which still takes place in Armenia, see Ackermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>88</sup> A. A. Macdonell, "Vedic Mythology," *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philol.* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 49-51.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. footnote 74.

<sup>90</sup> Ch. Duroiselle, "Pictorial Representations of Jutakas in Burma," *Archaeol. Surv. India Ann. Rept.*, 1912-13, Pl. LVIII, Fig. 46.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>92</sup> For earlier and more realistic representations of the spray, cf. a tile from Harichand Raz, *Archaeol. Surv. India Ann. Rept.*, 1918-19, Pl. II A.



# THE WOOD MIMBAR IN THE MASDJID-I DJAMI', NĀ'IN

BY MYRON BEMENT SMITH

ALTHOUGH THE CARVED GAČ REVETMENT AND THE PLAN OF THE MASDJID-I DJAMI',<sup>1</sup> NĀ'IN,<sup>2</sup> are known through several publications,<sup>3</sup> its splendid wood mimbar, dated 711 H., has yet to be studied. As Iranian Islamic woodwork of art-historical interest is comparatively rare, a description of this example may be welcomed.

The Nā'in mimbar (*Fig. 1*) is of medium size<sup>4</sup> and canonical in form.<sup>5</sup> It consists of a flight of eight steps, the top one being a railed seat under a decorative canopy. The lowest of the steps is entered through a light architrave, the lintel of which is a deep panel (*Fig. 2*). Stairs and platform are guarded by a grilled balustrade. The material is the densely grained *dirakht-i 'anāb*,<sup>6</sup> one of the few woods which resist the ravages of insects. Save for the soft patina given by the touch of many hands it is without finish. The mimbar is itself a venerated object, the rite consisting of tying bits of cloth to the wood, or entering the space beneath the steps by the low door near the mihrab and there lighting castor oil lamps, a practice which may account for more than one lost mimbar. Fortunate in escaping fire, it has suffered from pillage. The townsmen say that about 1932 the small access door was taken.<sup>7</sup> From time to

<sup>1</sup> This designation is given in an undated, *naskhī* inscription cut in a late Šafawid wood *kursī* (in this instance a low, hexagonal table with slots in the top to hold a *Ḥur'ān* in many volumes). The language is Persian. The translation: (1) Has given [as wakf] the master Kāẓim Nadjār [carpenter] (2) son of the master Kāẓim, son of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain (3) this *kursī* to the Masdjid-i Djāmī' of the city (4) of Nā'in . . . [rest of this line and lines 5 and 6 are religious formulae]. I am indebted to Tūrān Khānum of Isfahān for reading this inscription from my photographs, negatives Nos. L56.14, -16, -18, -20, -22, and -25.

<sup>2</sup> This is the modern spelling, also thus by Muḥaddasī, *Kitāb-i Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm fī M'arafat al-Aḳālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1906), p. 51, l. 16; also thus by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, "Gibb Series," (London, 1915), XXIII, 74 (text); but also Nā'in and Nā'in, cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter . . .* (Leipzig, 1925), V, 659 and note 20, quoting Yacut's *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1924), C8, 242, 15 and C8, 242, 21; also C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique . . . de la Perse* (Paris, 1861), p. 561, for the same variants; see also preceding note and Inscr. I-3 infra.

<sup>3</sup> The mosque was visited March 19, 1912, by H. Viollet and J. de Moustier; the results were published by Viollet and the late S. Flury, "Un monument des premiers siècles de l'hégire en Perse," *Syria*, II (1921), 226-34, 305-16. Viollet's sketch plan is essentially accurate. During Nov. 9-10 of 1913, E. Diez and O. von

Niedermayer were in Nā'in, but were unable to study inside the building, cf. E. Diez and M. von Berchem, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), p. 34. In 1929, A. U. Pope made photographs of the gač, which were utilized by S. Flury in his second publication, "La mosquée de Na'in," *Syria*, XI (1930), 43-58. In 1932 the plan was measured by E. Schroeder (as yet unpublished). In October, 1934, A. Godard exhibited in Teheran his own measured plan, which he kindly permitted me to publish first in my "Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture, I, Masdjid-i Djum'a, Demāwend," *Ars Islamica*, II (1935), Pt. 2, Fig. 29. Cf. A. Godard, "Les anciennes mosquées de l'Iran," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Pt. 2, Figs. 130, 131; also his "Le Tari Khana de Damghan," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XII (1934), No. 862, Figs. 9-11; and E. Diez, "Masdjid," *Encycl. of Islām*, p. 387; also his *Persien* (Hagen, 1923), pp. 48, 124-25; also A. U. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art* (London, 1930), Fig. 11, and p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> The dimensions are width, 105 cm.; depth, 319 cm.; height, 522 cm.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Diez, "Minbar," *Encycl. of Islām*; cf. the following mimbars: London, Victoria and Albert Museum (from Cairo, Mosque of Sulṭān Ḳā'itbey); Mashhad, Masdjid-i Djawhār Shād; Jerusalem, al-Aḳṣā Mosque (from Aleppo); Cairo, Mosques of Sulṭān Ḥasan, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, Mu'aiyad, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The jujube—not found in Nā'in, but I have noticed it in Isfahān gardens.

<sup>7</sup> It has not yet been recovered. It is for an opening 54.5 cm. wide by 75 cm. high.

time many of the mimbar panels have disappeared, mostly from the left side, where a total of twenty-two rectangular panels are missing,<sup>8</sup> eighteen of which have been replaced by modern work. This side also has two triangular panels which are not original, as well as three new rails.<sup>9</sup> Except that the right side shows one small replaced panel, and from the upper rear wall of the canopy nine raised panels are lost, the monument is substantially intact. The construction is solid. The assembly is contrived with wood pins, save for the steps, which are held by iron nails.

The inscriptions<sup>10</sup> are: on the left side, two lines of naskhī consisting of the wakf with date (*Fig. 3*); on the right, one line of naskhī comprising the signatures of the carpenter and the calligrapher (*Fig. 4*); on the front panel, a naskhī line from the Qur'ān (*Fig. 2*); and two short religious formulae in naskhī, one on each colonette capital (*Fig. 6*).

The paneling of the sides is in two divisions, an upright rectangular field directly below the platform and a triangular one below the stairs. It is noticeable that the panel compositions of these fields are in no way related. The underlying figures of the stair balustrade are groups of four octagons tangent at apices and enclosing a star of four points.<sup>11</sup> The canopy openings are stilted, ogee-horseshoe, arched profiles. The front arch rests on vase-and-crescent colonettes with rectangular impost-capitals. Each arch spandrel is accented with a disk. The elaborate cornice is composed of doubled brackets profiled as half the pointed, multifoil arches which pierce the intervening panels. The railing surmounting the cornice was never carried across the back nor farther along on the right than necessary to pass out of sight behind the masonry arch. Raised panels occur in four places: on the lintel of the stair entrance (*Figs. 2, 13, and 15*); below the canopy cornice (*Fig. 7*); in a corresponding position within the canopy on the far side; and around the small access door (*Fig. 14*). The carving of these panels is deep and straight to a dark, flat background (*tiefenschatten*). The tendril profiles are salient, double bevels. The other panels, rails, and stiles are in a shallow *schrägschnitt* (*Figs. 4, 5, and 12*).

Although the field library at hand does not permit a comparative study of the ornament, certain other woodwork in Nāin and in nearby Muḥammadiyyah<sup>12</sup> may be conveniently mentioned with the mimbar as material for future discussion. In this same mosque is a pair of doors (*Figs. 8, 9, and 10*) dated 874 H. by an inscription panel that was taken<sup>13</sup> at the same

<sup>8</sup> The top triangular panel which is missing in Figure 1 and an upright panel which is missing in Figure 3 (photographed Feb. 19, 1935) were again in place at the time of my last visit, Feb. 17, 1937.

<sup>9</sup> These can be easily distinguished, cf. Figure 5.

<sup>10</sup> Here I wish to record my gratitude to Professor Paul Wittek of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, for his kindness in making the epigraphical study of these inscriptions and of certain others, and at the same time to absolve him from any errors in the readings in my footnotes, as circumstances made it impossible to submit all the inscriptions to him.

<sup>11</sup> The eight-rayed *shamsa* (sun picture) motif. For discussion of the general type of geometric interlaced decoration utilized for the raised panels, see E. Herzfeld,

in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise . . .* (Berlin, 1920), II, 255 ff., with bibliography.

<sup>12</sup> Mentioned by A. F. Stahl, "Reisen in Nord- und Zentral-Persien," *Petermanns Mitteil.*, 1895, offprint, No. 118, p. 27; evidently the "remains of an old town in the vicinity [of Nāin]," noticed by A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York, 1906), p. 416.

<sup>13</sup> This panel (*Fig. 8*) was later recovered and placed in the new Teheran Museum; in 1934 its mate (*Fig. 9*) was taken to that museum for safekeeping. The panel openings are 24.5 cm. high by 61.5 cm. long. The doors are 250 cm. high; the left one is 104 cm. wide; the wood is said to be walnut (*gardū*). I wish to record my thanks to A. Godard, Director General of the Iranian Archaeological Service, for the negatives of Figures 8 and 9.





PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH. NEG. 594

FIG. 1—NĀĪN, MASJID-I DJĀMI', MIMBAR



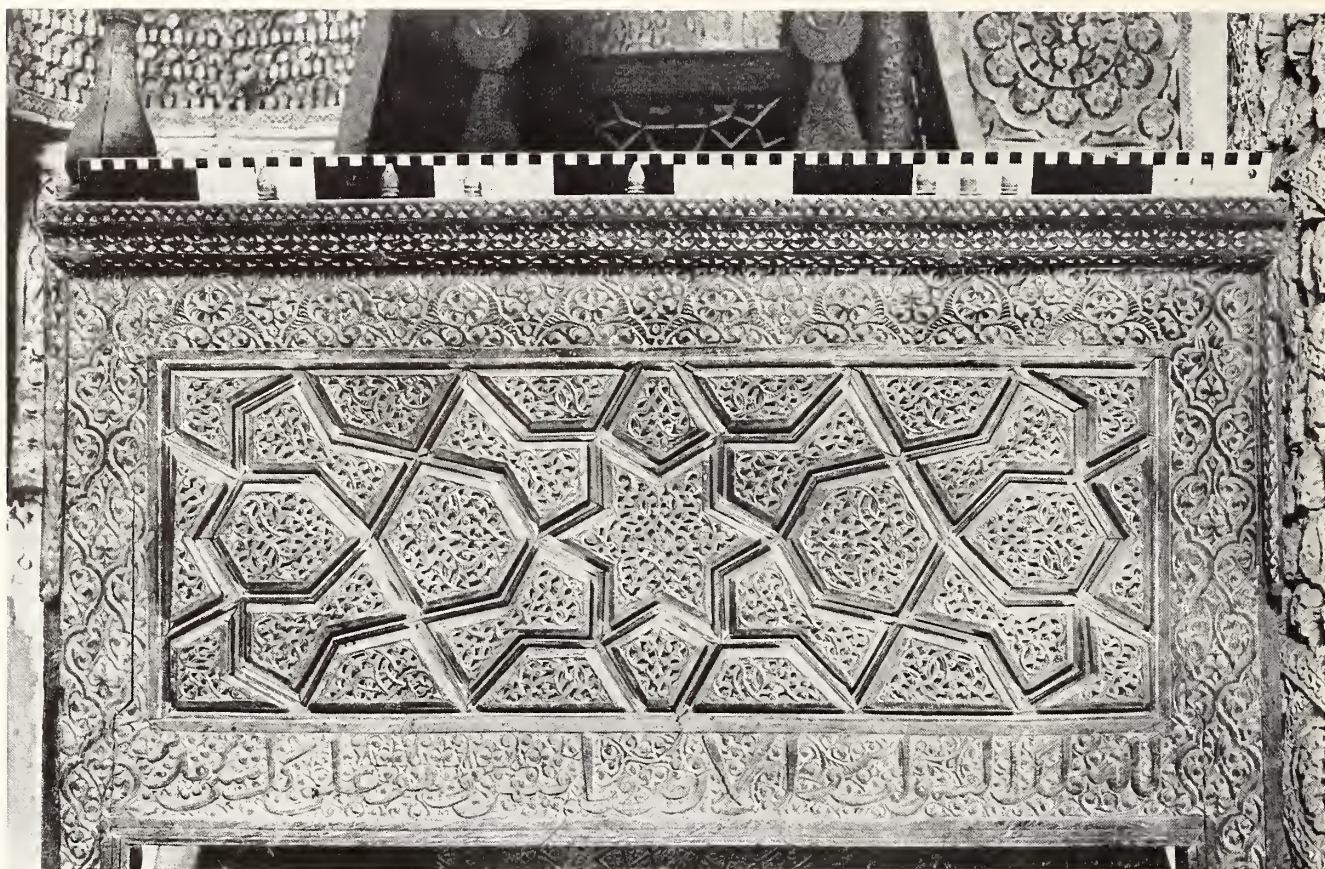


FIG. 2

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 604

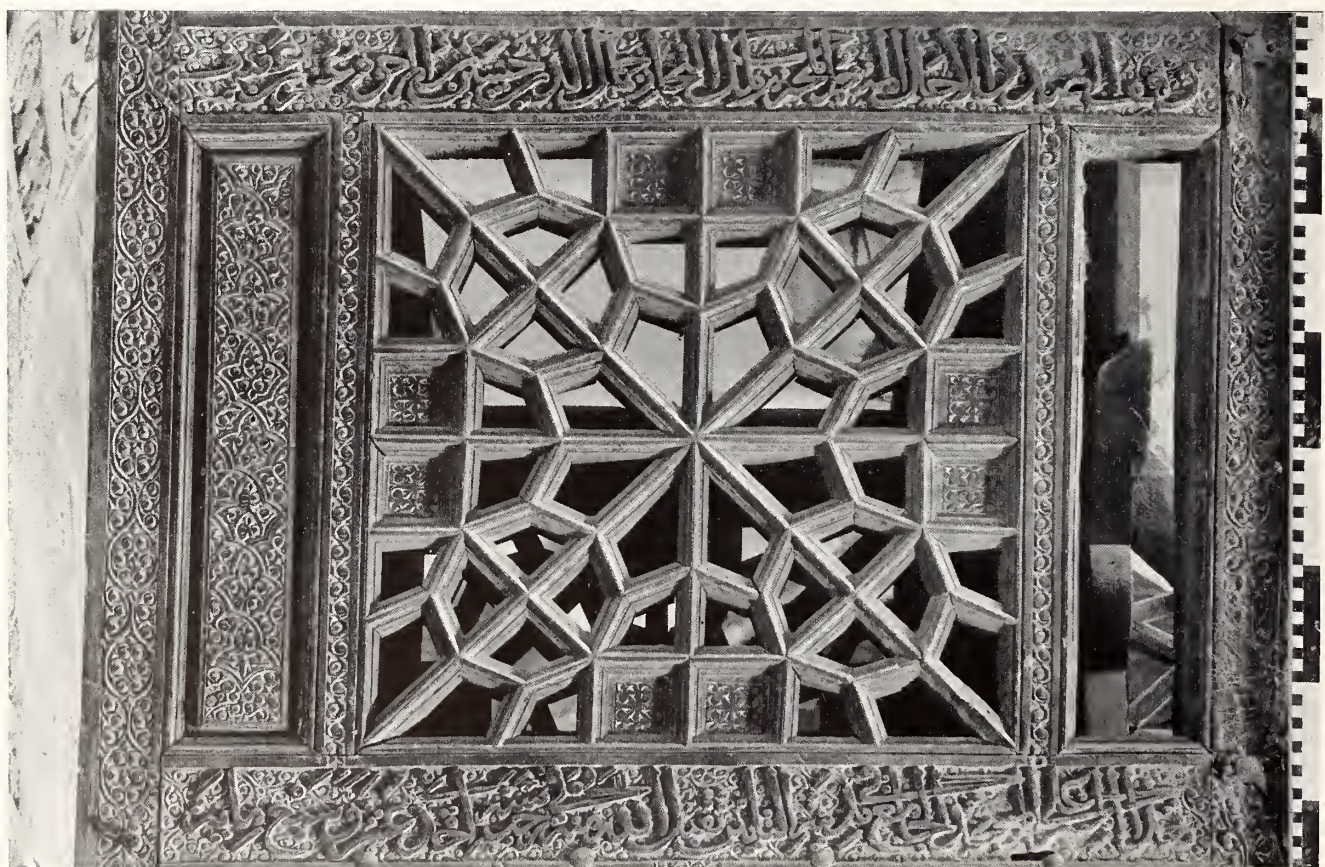


FIG. 3

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 606

NĀ'IN, MASDĪD-I DJĀMI', MIMBAR PANELS





FIG. 4

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 601



FIG. 5

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 608

NĀIN, MASDJID-I DJĀMI', MIMBAR PANELS, LEFT SIDE



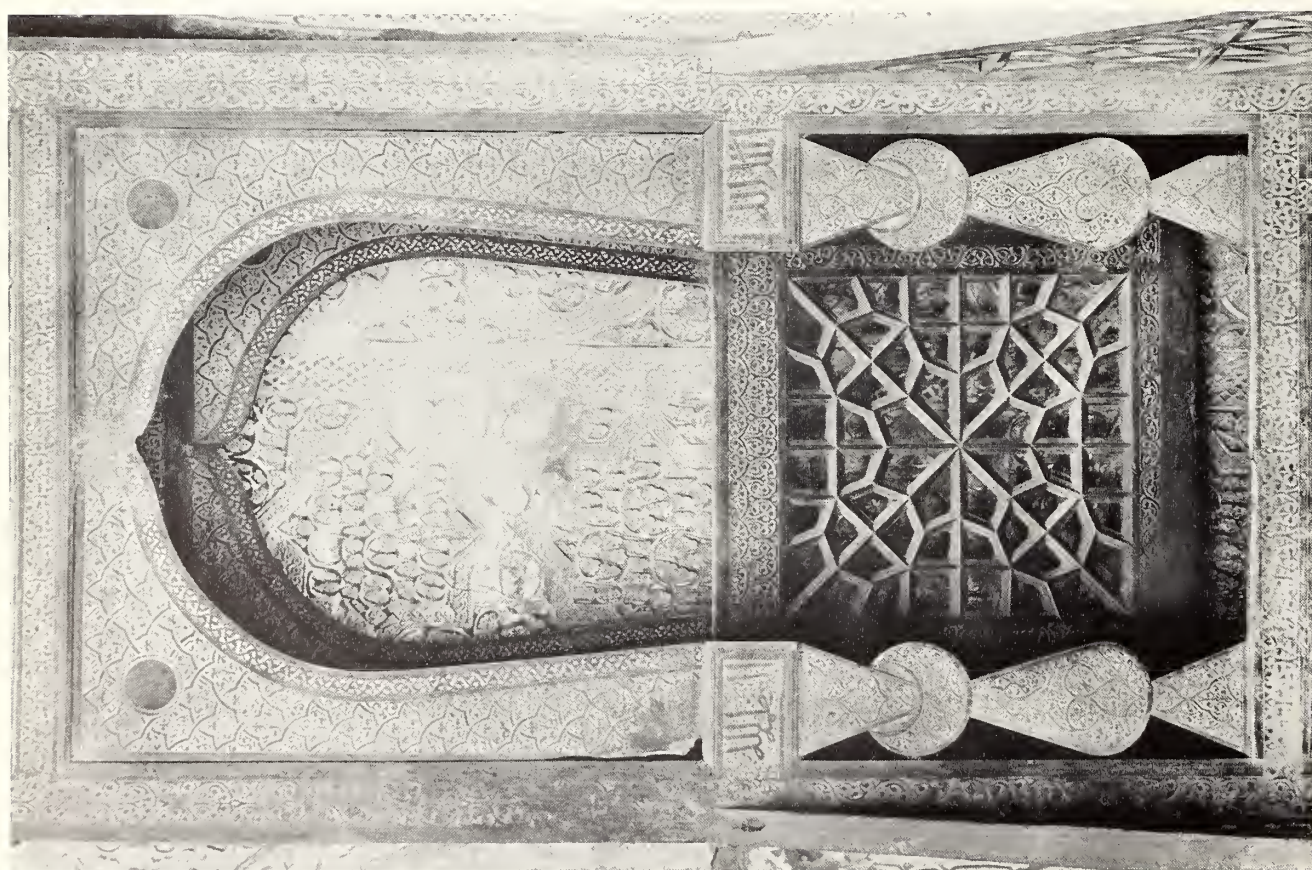


FIG. 6—NĀIN, MASJID-I DJĀMĪ, MIMBAR, UPPER PART, FRONT

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 595



FIG. 7—NĀIN, MASJID-I DJĀMĪ, MIMBAR, UPPER PART, LEFT SIDE

PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 596



time as was the mimbar door. The doors are badly damaged, with most of the carving weathered away.<sup>14</sup> The undistinguished, low-relief carving appears to be a debased derivative from that of the side panels of the mimbar.

In the Masjid-i Bābā 'Abd Allāh in Nāīn is a wood inscription panel (*Fig. 18*),<sup>15</sup> dated 700 H., which appears to be the foundation document for the mosque.<sup>16</sup> The carving of the frame is in a technique that has been observed on the Djāmi' mimbar. The naskhī background is a spirited arabesque with tendrils ending in tight curls.

Before leaving Nāīn, a pair of doors on the Masjid-i Khwādja may be noted. These are evidently late Ṣafawīd, and, although not outstanding, are well carved, with ornament distributed as on certain bookbindings of that period. Other than a short kufic formula, the inscriptions are the "Profession of the Faith" and a Sha'ia' formula, both in a splendid naskhī.

Going on to Muḥammadiyyah, the oldest example of woodwork in this geographical group is the mimbar in the Masjid-i Djāmi', a monument which I have given summary publication elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> On this same mosque is a pair of doors, undecorated but for moldings, and an inscription in two panels.<sup>18</sup>

On the Imāmzādah Shaikh Ḍain al-dīn, Muḥammadiyyah, is a pair of simple doors inscribed with the date 1057 H.

<sup>14</sup> The projecting, ornamental nailheads recall those on Italian medieval doors; cf. my "Nail Studded Doors from North Italy," *Arch. Record*, LXVII (1930), 544-51; LXVIII (1930), 169-74.

<sup>15</sup> It was outside the building over the entrance until twelve years ago when it was set into the mihrab niche. The actual panel is 42.5 cm. high by 81 cm. long.

<sup>16</sup> Six lines of naskhī script; some diacritical marks; unvocalized. The language is Arabic. End of line 1: last word partially destroyed; end of line 2: end of الإخلاق defaced, one word (?) missing, beginning of الدولة defaced; line 3: partially defaced at end, but legible.

(١) امر بنا هذا المسجد المبارك الصدر الكبير  
المح [.....]  
(٢) لصدور والاكابر مفخر العراق مرضى الاخ [لاق] .....  
لادو  
(٣) لت والدين جلال الاسلام والمسلمين امين الملوك  
والسلا  
(٤) طين محمد بن المرحوم شمس الدين بن عبدالله بن  
محمد بن  
(٥) عبدالله بن القسم بن علي متع الله بطول بقائه  
وقبل الله منه  
(٦) واعانه يوم الفرع الاكبر تحريرا في غرة شهر الله  
الحرام سنة سبع مائة

Translation: "(1) Has ordered the building of this blessed masjid, the great chief, the [...] (2) of the chiefs and nobles, the glory of 'Irāk, he who is laudable of nature, [...] of the state (3) and of the religion, the majesty of Islām and of the Muslims, trustee of kings and sovereigns (4) Muḥammad, son of the late Shāms al-dīn, son of (a)bī-'Abdallāh, son of Muḥammad, son of (a)bī- (5) 'Abdallāh, son of (a)bī-al-Ḳāsim, son of 'Alī, may Allah let him enjoy length of life, and may Allāh accept [it] from him, and help him on the day of the Greatest Fear [i.e., the day of judgment]. Written on the first day of the sacred month of Allāh [Muḥarram], of the year seven hundred [September 16, 1300 A.D.]."

I am indebted to George C. Miles for checking the reading. This inscription therefore would make another, dated Rabī' I, 737 H., painted on the gač frieze under the squinches, be for the painted decoration; cf. "Research Program of the Institute," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, No. 7 (1934), 26.

<sup>17</sup> "Minbar, Masjid-i Djāmi', Muḥammadiyyé," *Athār-é Īrān*, I (1936), 175-80.

<sup>18</sup> My negatives Nos. L57.37 and L57.40, unpublished. The panels are 33 cm. long by 16.5 cm. high. The naskhī is so poorly drawn and cut and in such a damaged state that the last part is illegible, but the mosque is clearly designated as Djāmi', and the date 909 H., both in script and numerals, may be possible.

On the Masḡjid-i Suflā,<sup>19</sup> Muḡammadiyyah, are two pairs of inscribed doors, one pair dated 1021 H.,<sup>20</sup> the other 997 H. These doors have nothing in common save that their calligraphy is similar in style and cutting. The sparse decoration of the doors dated 1021 H. is in keeping with that date, but in the case of the doors dated 997 H. (Figs. 16, 17, and 20) the wood carving is so distinguished that one questions how it can be found alongside such wretched work as that of the inscription.<sup>21</sup> This date must be considered only as that of the wakf of these doors. On stylistic grounds it cannot be the date of their manufacture. The panel composition, scale, and ornament recall the raised panels of the Nāin mimbar. Here is the digitated split palmette, the linear-stem intersecting arabesque disposed axially, the tightly curled tendril ends, and the same *tiefenschatten*. Only in the profile of the tendrils does the carving technique differ, for here is a rounded stem in contrast to the salient, double bevel of Nāin. Solely on the basis of technique, these doors should date near the Nāin mimbar, nor does the ornament prevent such a dating.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the tightly curled tendril end is not an exclusively Mongol element, as witness examples from Mosul, on the mihrab of the Great Mosque (543 H.), and on Imām Yaḡyā (637 H.).<sup>23</sup>

Not far removed geographically from the Nāin-Muḡammadiyyah woodwork group is the old mimbar in the Masḡjid-i Djum'a, Iṣfahān. Here are star and other panels of a sort close to the Nāin mimbar and the Muḡammadiyyah doors, while two other elements are introduced, panels of rectangular naskhī (Fig. 19) and naturalistic leaf forms in high relief (Fig. 11). The latter recall the carved gač panel to the left of the mihrab in the Masḡjid-i Djum'a in Warāmin.<sup>24</sup> This foliage is most conspicuous on a star panel in the left side (Fig. 11)—its mate on the right has been missing some few years—which bears a striking resemblance to another panel reported in a dealer's hands.<sup>25</sup> At another time, when I give the Iṣfahān mimbar an extended publication,<sup>26</sup> I hope to establish more definitely its connection with the Nāin mimbar as well as with the Muḡammadiyyah doors falsely dated 997 H.

<sup>19</sup> Also known as Masḡjid-i Sayyid Gunbaḡ, from the small, domed mausoleum on the ḡibla side. The designation Suflā (the lower) is found on both pairs of doors, although on a cotton carpet (zīlū), dated 1240 H., the mosque is referred to without designation. These zīlū are nearly always inscribed and dated, giving interesting documents. Those of this mosque are dated (all H.): 997, 1014, 1027, 1033, 1040, 1240, 1301, and 1342; in the M.-i Djāmi': 1059, 1103, and 1270; M.-i Sar-i Kūčah: 1027, 1246, 1258, and 1337; at Nāin, M.-i Djāmi': 1115, 1115, 1115, 1181, 1181, 1183, 1225, and 1272; M.-i Kalwān, 1023. The manufactory is almost always Maibud, an old village near Yazd.

<sup>20</sup> The language is Persian. Translation: "Has given [as wakf], the honored kaḡḡudā [headman of the village], ḡasan, son of 'Alī, our Lord Muḡammad Riḡā [? obscure], this door to the lower mosque of Muḡammadī. On the date, the fifth of the sacred month of Dhū al-ḡiḡḡidjah of the year one thousand and twenty-one of the ḡidjah of the Prophet [January 27, 1613 A.D.]. [Then

a sign standing for] the blessings of Allāh on him and on his descendants."

For this reading I am indebted to Tūrān Khānum, of Iṣfahān.

<sup>21</sup> Negatives Nos. L58.12 and L58.14, unpublished.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. mimbar (696 H.) in the Mosque of Sultān Aḡmad ibn Ṭūlūn, Cairo; and certain of its panels now scattered in the Arab Museum, Cairo; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and the Museum of Industrial Arts, Vienna.

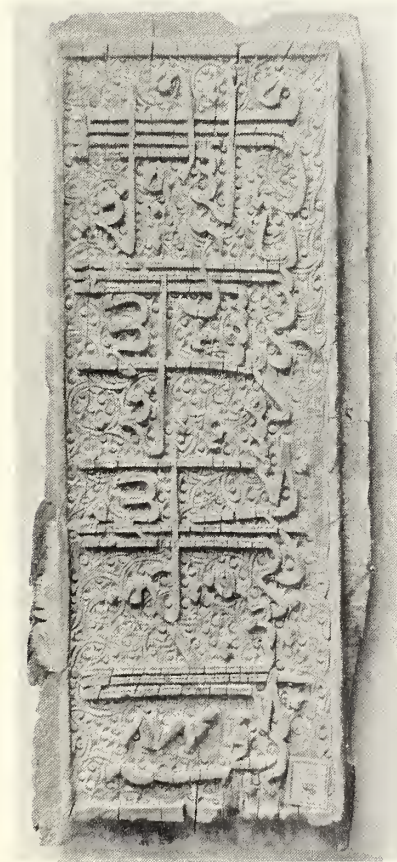
<sup>23</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 223, Figs. 234-36, 356, 260.

<sup>24</sup> Illus., F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin, 1901), I, Pls. LV, LVI.

<sup>25</sup> Illus., A. U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art* (London, 1930), Fig. 96.

<sup>26</sup> In the course of the study of the Masḡjid-i Djum'a that I am now carrying on with the assistance of grants from the American Council of Learned Societies.





PHOTOGRAPH, A. GODDARD

FIG. 8—NĀĪN, MASJID-I DĪĀMĪ, DOOR PANEL (NOW IN TEHRAN, MUSEUM)



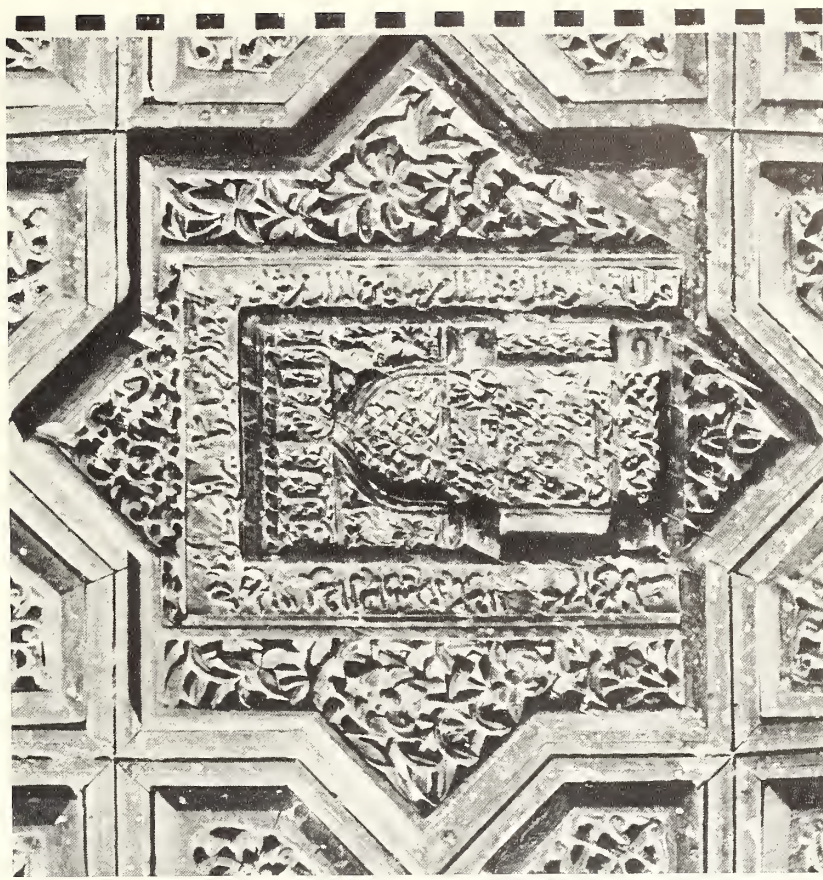
PHOTOGRAPH, A. GODDARD

FIG. 9—NĀĪN, MASJID-I DĪĀMĪ, DOOR PANEL (NOW IN TEHRAN, MUSEUM)



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L59.34

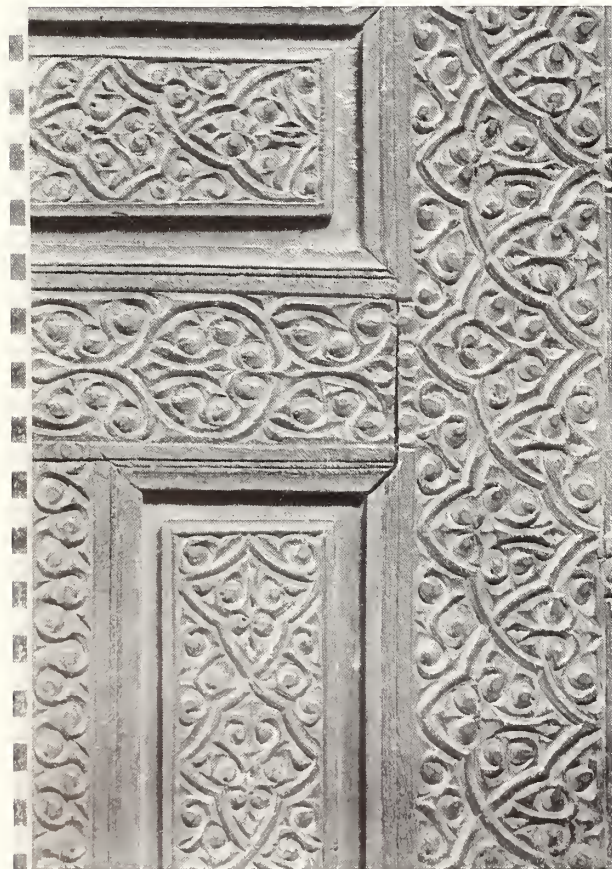
FIG. 10—NĀĪN, MASJID-I DĪĀMĪ, DOOR, DETAIL



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L202.10

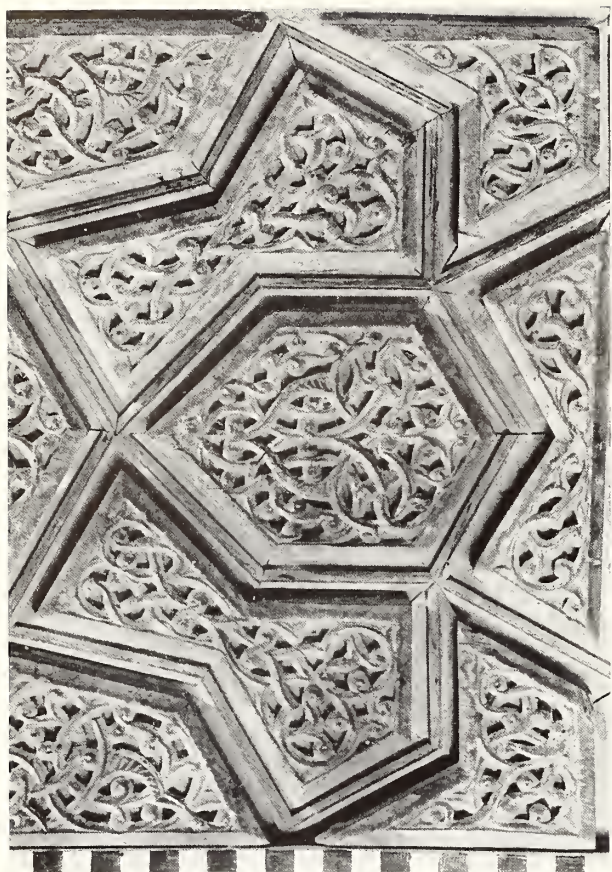
FIG. 11—ISFAHĀN, MASJID-I DĪUM'Ā, MIMBAR PANEL





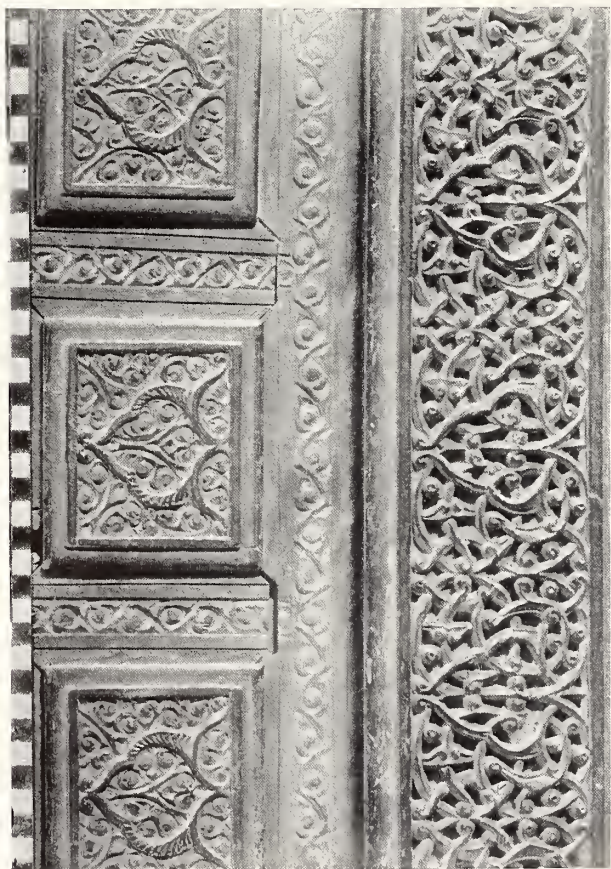
PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 602d

FIG. 12



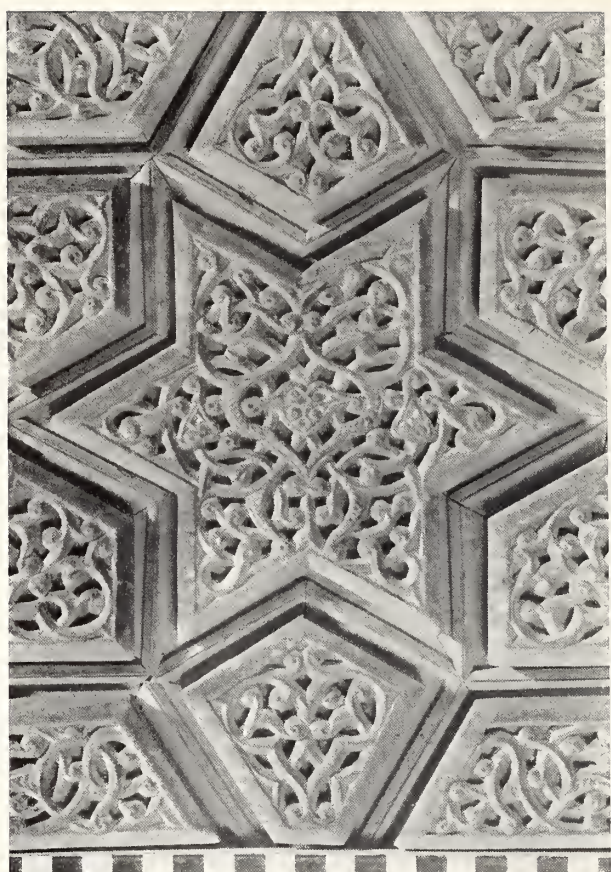
PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 600

FIG. 13



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 602d

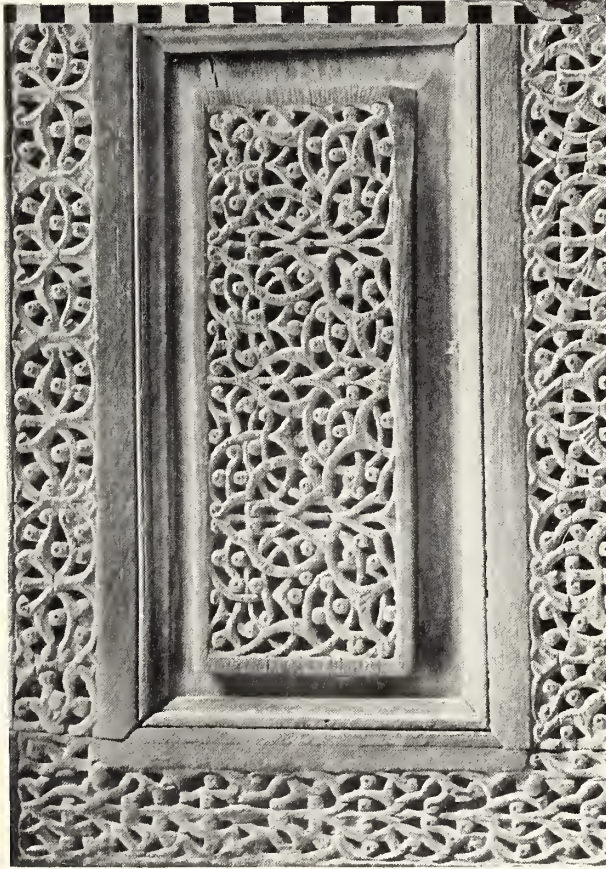
FIG. 14



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 599

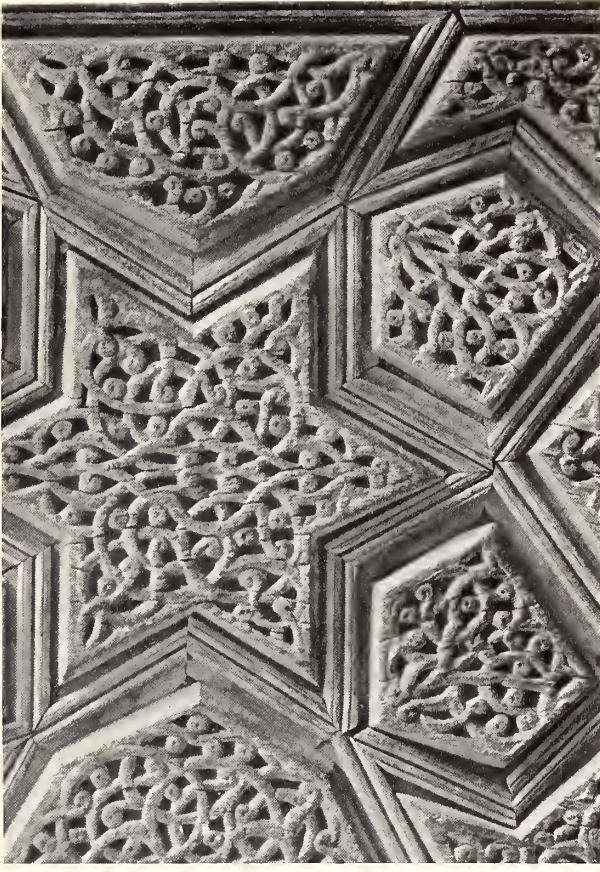
FIG. 15





PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L58.14

FIG. 16—MUHAMMADIYAH, MASJID-I SUFLĀ, DOOR PANELS



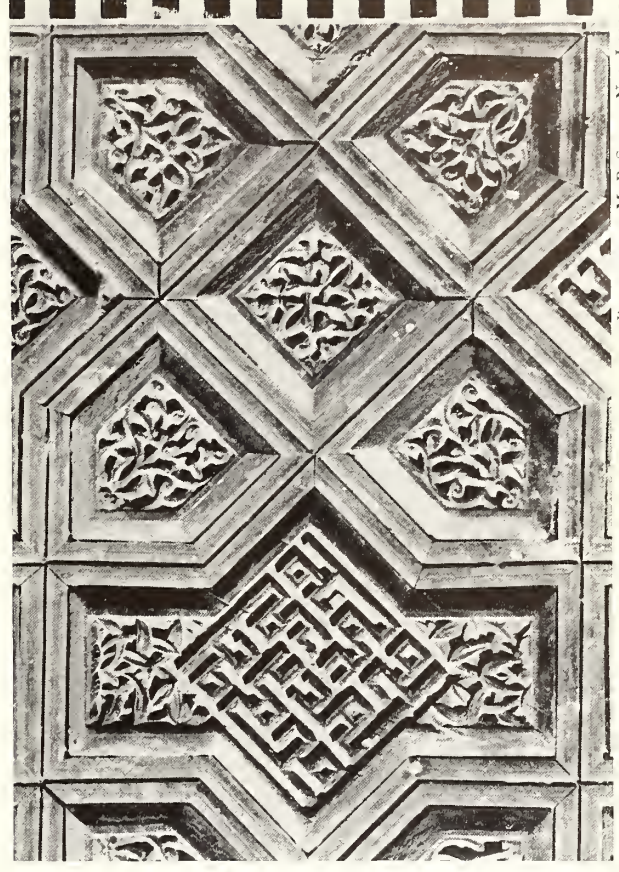
PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L58.9

FIG. 17—MUHAMMADIYAH, MASJID-I SUFLĀ, DOOR PANELS



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L59.37

FIG. 18—NĀ'IN, MASJID-I BĀBĀ 'ABD ALLĀH, PANEL



PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L202.13

FIG. 19—IŞFAHĀN, MASJID-I DJUM'Ā, MIMBAR PANELS





PHOTOGRAPH, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L58.15

FIG. 20—MUḤAMMADIYYAH, MASJID-I SUFLĀ, DOORS



I. *The inscriptions on the wood mimbar in the Masjid-i Djāmī' at Nā'in*

1. Inscriptions on the wooden abaci of the colonettes of the canopy (*Fig. 6*). Ornamental naskhī on a ground filled with ornament. On the right: الملك لله "The government belongs to Allāh." On the left: العظمة لله "The majesty belongs to Allāh"—both frequently used Arabic sentences.

2. Wooden panel over the entrance to the stairs (*Fig. 2*). One line of spaciously written, somewhat stiff naskhī set over the frame ornament. *Ḳur'ān*, V, 120:

لله ملك السموات والارض وما فيهن وهو على كل شيء قدير

To Allāh is the government of the heavens and the earth and of all that is therein, and He has power over all things.

3. Inscription of foundation, from 1311 A.D., left side of the canopy, on the rails of the wooden grill (*Fig. 3*). Two lines of a rather cursive and crowded naskhī, accompanied by numerous diacritical marks and vocalizations, on a ground filled with ornament. The language is Arabic:

(١) وقف الصدر الاجل المنعم المحترم ملك التجار جمال الدين حسين بن المرحوم عمر بن عفيف (٢) هذا المنبر على المسجد الجامع في مدينة النائين تقبل الله منه في رجب سنة احدى عشر وسبع مائة

(1) Has given as wakf the most excellent, generous, and respected Ṣadr (minister), the Malik al-tudjīdār (king of the merchants), *Djamāl al dīn Ḥusain*, son of the late 'Umar, son of 'Afīf, (2) this mimbar (pulpit) for the Masjid-i Djāmī' in the town of Nā'in—may Allāh accept (it) from him—in Rādjab of the year seven hundred and eleven (October 15–November 12, 1311 A.D.).

My reading of the passage between المنعم and التجار requires an explanation. The word which precedes the latter seems to be لمل rather than ملك, and owing to the mannerism of the writer in turning back the ends of ي into an acute angle, one would be inclined to read the strange letter over المحترم as a ي or بي. But if we look at the word ملك in inscription No. 2, we can see that there it is written rather like لمك. The word الملك on the right in inscription No. 1 shows the same manner of placing the top stroke on the shaft of the kāf, except that in our inscription this stroke becomes a long loop in order to fill the large, empty space. Thus we are allowed to read ملك التجار, which is a well-known title borne by the chief of the merchants of a town. It is not at all surprising to see a merchant as minister (ṣadr); our inscription is from the Īlkhān period, when commerce was most flourishing and the commercial class enjoyed the highest influence and esteem.

4. Inscription with the names of the carver and of the calligraphist. Right side of the mimbar (*Fig. 4*). Rectangular wooden inscription panel in a frame. The ground is covered with ornament, over which is raised one line of a beautiful, attenuated naskhī, spaciously written in the first two-thirds, but very crowded in the last third. The language is Arabic in the first two-thirds, where diacritical points and vowel marks occur in nearly all instances; a blessing formula in Persian then follows, where points and marks are rather missing; and the rest, the signature of the calligraphist, is again in Arabic:

عمل الاستاذ افتخار الصنائع محمود شاه بن محمد النقاش الكرمانى خدایش بیامرزاد کی فاتحه خواند  
بخط العبد عبد الحكيم المحمدي

(This) has made the master, the glory of the workmen, Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad, the naḳḳāsh (designer, carver), from Kirmān; (the following in Persian): may the Lord absolve him who recites the Fātiḥa (i.e., the first sūrat of the Qur'an); written by (literally: in the writing of) the slave 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Muḥammadī (i.e., of Muḥammadiyyah).

## II. *Inscription on a door of the Masdjid-i Suflā at Muḥammadiyyah*

On the right and left leaves (*Fig. 20*). Two fields of writing, crudely cut, at the tops of the leaves, each of two lines, those on the left leaf separated by a horizontal band. On the left, below the inscription, the date is carved in the frame. The letters are spaciouly written, in a rather coarse but legible cursive naskhī. The language is Persian. In spite of the difference in the shape of the two fields and in the letters, the text is continuous:

(Right) (۱) وقف کرد عباد الله (۲) بن سلطان علي بن محمد  
(Left) (۱) اين دروا بر مسجد سفلی (۲) قرية محمدی قرية الى الله تعالى (frame) سنة ۹۹۷

(R1) Has given as wakf 'Ibādallāh (2) son of Sulṭān 'Alī, son of Maḥmūd,  
(L1) this door to the Masdjid-i Suflā (2) of the village Muḥammadī, as an act of devotion to Allāh,—may He be exalted. (Frame) Year 997 (November 20, 1588—November 9, 1589).

Thus the door was given in 1588–89 A.D. by one 'Ibādallāh for the Masdjid-i Suflā, "the lower mosque," of the village Muḥammadī (= Muḥammadiyyah). Mr. M. B. Smith writes me that the name of the mosque refers to its situation in the lower part of the town, which in its upper part possesses another mosque. He has communicated to me another inscription of a door in the same mosque where also "Masdjid-i Suflā-i Muḥammadī" occurs.

## III. *Inscription on the border of a zīlū from 1589 A.D. in the Masdjid-i Suflā of Muḥammadiyyah*

Negatives Nos. L58-23, L58-21, L58-19, L58-17.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is badly damaged (the beginning is missing). The language is Persian. At the end (L58-17), in letters slimmer than the others, one reads the signature of the workman:

عمل علی بن شمس الدين بن قطب الدين میبدی

Work of 'Alī b. Shamsaddīn b. Ḳuṭbaddīn of Maibud.

I owe to Mr. M. B. Smith the reference that Maibud, a village between Nāīn and Yazd, is well known by its zīlūs, and that the name of our workman occurs also on two other zīlūs dating from 1014 H. (1605 A.D.) and 1025 H. (1616 A.D.). This signature is preceded (negatives Nos. L58-21 and L58-19) by بتاريخ رجب سنة ۹۹۷ "at the date Radjab 997 [May 16–June 14, 1589 A.D.]." Thus the zīlū is from the same year as the door with our inscription No. II. Before the date we clearly read بخشید "has given," but the preceding two names cannot be the subject of the sentence, since the verb is in the singular. They belong to the blessing formula, صواب آن بروح پدر علی و برادر شکر الله where صواب is an evident faulty orthography of ثواب "and its reward for the soul of the father 'Alī and the brother Shukrallāh." There is still an *alif* after Shukrallāh but no trace of other letters; it seems to be inserted merely to fill the gap. This blessing formula is preceded by زیر قرية مذکوره. The word زیر being the exact

<sup>1</sup> Not illustrated.

Persian equivalent of the Arabic word *suflā*, there is no doubt that it was preceded by مسجد : “of the lower mosque of the village before mentioned.” I shall not venture to complete the rest of the missing portion of the inscription. In any case it must have contained a mention of the given object, namely the word *zīlū*, the name of the village *Muḥammadī*, and the name of the donor, the subject corresponding to the verb بخشيد . As the *zīlū* is given to the mosque in the same year as the door, 997 H., it is quite possible that the donor of the door, ‘Ibadallāh, also gave the *zīlū*:

[..... مسجد] زير قرية المذكوره وصواب آن (ثواب آن for) بروح پدر علی و برادر شکر الله بخشيد بتاريخ رجب ۹۹۷ عمل علی بن شمس الدين بن قطب الدين مبيدي

[... for the] lower [mosque] (of the) village before mentioned; and its reward for the soul of (his?) father ‘Alī and (his?) brother *Shukrallāh*, has given (it) at the date *Radjab* 997 (May–June, 1589 A.D.). Work of ‘Alī b. *Shamsaddīn* b. *Ḳuṭbaddīn* of *Maibud*.

#### IV. *The inscriptions from a door in the Masjid-i Djāmī of Nāīn, at present in the new Teheran Museum*

Two rectangular wooden inscription panels in a frame. The ground is covered with ornament, over which is raised one line of a most beautiful ornamental *naskhī*, with considerably elongated shafts:

1. Figure 9. The beginning and the end are damaged.

قال الله تعالى ائتما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر

Shall visit the mosques of Allāh only he who believes in Allāh and in the last day (*Ḳur’ān*, IX, 18).

2. Figure 8.

وقال النبي عليه السلام (السلام) من بنى لله مسجدا بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة

In the vertical sense along the left border: في سنة ٨٧٤

The Prophet has said—may Peace be upon him!: Who builds Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds him a house in Paradise. (Well-known *ḥadīth* quoted, e.g., by *Suyūṭī* in his *Djāmī’ al-ṣaghīr* after *Ibn Mādja*.) In the year 874 (July 11, 1469—June 20, 1470)



## ISLAMIC ART

AS THE ISLAMIC RELIGION AND CONCEPTION OF LIFE ARE IN THEIR ESSENCE RELATED TO THE Old-Christian-Byzantine ones, that is, are monotheistic and transcendental, the general conclusion can be drawn beforehand that Islamic art must possess the same qualities in style as the Byzantine. Thus it is polar, cubistic, static, and its totality lies in the ornamental; however, the tension in the outward appearance of works of art of both religions seems to us so great that categories to unite both groups may be suspected of too great liberality.

When we realize that the diversity in appearance is purely outward and results from the absence of human figures in Islamic religious art, it is evident that the difference is less than at first appears. The essence of the Islamic theory of life is embedded in religion. The Muhammadan religion, like the Christian, is revealed, but goes further by calling itself "islam," i.e., subjection to God. This clear designation became a catchword and a battle cry. Muhammadanism is much more definite and limited than Christianity ever was, and these attributes may also be applied to the "art of Islam," a term which for clearness is to be preferred to "Muhammadan art." Accordingly the art of Islam or Islamic art is the art which expresses submission to Allah. "Christian art" or "Byzantine art" indicate nothing of the essential qualities of the religion which gave rise to them, but are mere historical notions.

Unconditional submission to God comprehends complete incapacity of self-determination, that unconditional surrender of one's own personality to the Divine Will, which the Muhammadan expresses in the words "inshallah" and "kismet." As self-determination is the indispensable assumption for the elevation of the subject above the object, and thus of free production, the greatest subjection is naturally the chief quality in the style of an art wishing to give expression to a fettered theory of life. Yet restricting itself to the two-dimensional plane and thus giving up the constructed third dimension is the supreme sacrifice in the fine arts. The third dimension as it was created in the Renaissance expresses in art the emancipation of the individual from destiny.

As we are no longer living in the time of simple composition but in the post-Christian period of polar composition, the plane, in which this art develops and to which it is bound, does not signify a material, but an ideal plane in the sense of polarity.<sup>1</sup> It denotes a plane which does not need to be produced by such drawing as is to be found in the simple ornamental art of primitive peoples, but which pre-exists in space—bringing forward and visualizing by drawing and relief one of the many qualities of Allah, usually his irrational infinity. This relation to the plane is "ornamentalism" in Coellen's sense, and it can be just as well produced by rows of columns in architecture as by lines of plastic units or purely ornamental forms.

In order to make the idea of "ornamentalism" (in Coellen's sense) entirely clear, attention must now be drawn to the difference between this notion and that contained in the terms ornament and ornamentation. We call shaped linear decoration of surfaces ornament. Ornamentation is a system of such elements, whether it is taken within a group or period or in a

<sup>1</sup> See my "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art, General Part," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), Pt. 2, 211.

generally abstract aesthetic sense. The conception of ornament does not, however, comprise the relation of the ornament forms to the surface on which they appear. As long as we are interested in the countless individual forms of ornamental features and inquire whether they are naturalistic or abstract, rational or irrational, freely developing or bound, we do not come to the question of their relation to the plane on which they appear nor to that of the stylistic significance of the relation. This, however, is the starting point of the stylistic significance of ornamentation in a philosophical, i.e., an absolute, sense, as the expression of a conception of life. It is true that Strzygowski and Riegl emphasized *Tiefendunkel* as a significant relation to planes, and Riegl attempted to interpret it philosophically. But Coellen was the first to coin and describe the term ornamentation as a *style-genetic category*. He was the first to recognize the fundamental difference between such ornamentation as creates a plane by its pattern (first category) and such as simply makes use of a plane as basis for its own forms (second category). He further shows the difference in genetic style between this ornamentation and the next, which is in the tectonic category, and takes in the plane as a portion of the part-space to be represented, and between this and the ornamentation of general space in the fourth category.<sup>2</sup>

Taking note of the leading and influential part assumed by ornamentation in Islamic art, let us again consider, apart from the ornamental standpoint, these four categories. Ornament in a primary sense, "pure" ornament as placed by Coellen in the first category, is pattern without foundation. Pure ornament is direct plane-genesis through purely genetic means which have no individual significance. The employment of individual forms, especially of human beings, animals, and plants, is, on principle, excluded in the first category, where the organizing arrangement of the creating resources can only be pure, i.e., abstractly geometric. The plane to be produced is ideal form.

The producing resources also constitute the plane by leaving overempty spaces between themselves and thus generating the pattern, which is laid on the empty ground, appearing in the spaces between; the pattern alone is the plane to be produced, while the ground, primarily, and according to its origin, has no artistic significance. The pattern is the total space and its existential fulfillment. It fills the whole plane, if possible, without interruption, and constitutes it as such. Prehistoric finds and the art of primitive peoples, as well as the early works of historical peoples, furnish ornamentation corresponding to and exactly fulfilling the conditions described. A geometric arrangement produces of itself the plane, mostly in such a way that as much of the ground as possible disappears. This peculiarity of primitive ornament was misunderstood and romantically designated as horror vacui. Coellen was the first to give the correct interpretation of it—namely, that the plane is not only the totality of space but also its existential fulfillment.

The preservation of the plane in the next category of space-totality, the "*individual space*,"<sup>3</sup> can only take place by the plane's, through its creative resources, being put into contact with individual forms of plants, animals, and human beings. All the form-conditions of pure ornamentation remain valid—the geometric order of the elements, their rhythmic

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*



arrangement, and the horror vacui, by the superseding of which the genesis of the plane would, of course, be abolished. This category of artistic expression is already to be found in primitive art, though it represents a higher level than the first.

Ornamentation started an entirely new career in the third, the tectonic category, in which partial space forms the totality. Tectonizing is the systematic interrelating and assembling of individual forms into an organized whole. Examples of tectonization are found in the piling up of demonic figures on a totem pole, the arrangement of sphinxes in rows to form an avenue, the relationship of a figure to the ground by means of a base, or the construction of a temple of walls, pillars, and beams. The beginning of tectonization is the beginning of human history. In art the tectonization leading to the most important results occurs in establishing a relation of the human figure with the background in relief. All these processes belong to the third category of space-genesis, the partial space which coincides with the organizing of human society in social forms. The change in the form of ornament in this category can be seen especially clearly in Egyptian ornamentation. The arrangement of individuals determines the style in this category, in accordance with which the symmetric ranking of geometrically stylized individual forms, above all of plant-and-animal forms, becomes the main feature of the ornamentation. In addition, the tectonic arrangement of individuals as the dominating form-idea is indicated by the separation of the ornamental pattern from the ground. The same tectonic relationship comes into action which also leads to the relief. Here, too, the ground becomes the tectonic basis for the ornament-plane, which from now on (as pattern) is tectonically related to the ground. The ground is no longer indifferent, but an essential component of the form, for which many new possibilities are open.

Finally the adaptation of the ornament into the totality of general space takes place in the same way as it does in individual space. The genetic resources of the ornament acquire relationship to general space. Their primary function of constituting the surface as such, is, so to say, double. They now have at the same time to connect the plane with general space. Thus this plane is a boundary layer between its own existence and the totality of general space. The means by which this transformation is brought about are the same as those used in the former category: chiaroscuro and color. Any ornamentation by these two mediums can become elevated to the function of a general space-totality.

Islamic art has the restriction to the plane in common with Early Christian and Byzantine, and thus the former as well as the two latter belong to the ornamentalistic style phase of art development, determined polarly. In Western art this category of ornamentalism is followed by the category of plasticism in Romanesque, of tectonics in Gothic, and finally of general space in Renaissance art. The question ensuing for us is whether Islamic art has not taken place in the second and perhaps also in the third category.

The direct identity of general and partial space is the basic determination for Byzantine as well as for Islamic art. The identity of general spatial totality and its partial-spatial realization determine both styles as ornamentalistic. Earlier, in the period of simple composition, existence was put as its own basis. Now, in the period of polar composition, of transcendental world ideas, existence is raised to the sphere of the transcendental basis and made identical with it. The result of this, stylistically, is the determination that the partial-spatial

formula is raised to the sphere of the presupposed formless general space and considered identical with it, i.e., the form is ornamentalistic plane-genesis. The form, however, is not limited to the ornament, but the general spatial ornamentalistic determination becomes, so far as they can be subjected to it, the style characteristic for categories of art. This was not possible for sculpture and so it was eliminated or ornamentalized from Byzantine and Islamic art.

The ornamentalistic plane-genesis is produced by the cubistic formation of geometric and stereometric formulas, to which can also be added irregular, inorganic, spatial elements, as well as organic forms which are divested of their function.

There are far-reaching differences between Islamic and Byzantine art, although they belong to the same categories of style. Islamic art had only started its formation at a time when Byzantine was at its zenith. Vigorous nomadic peoples, such as the Arabs and the Turks, united with old peoples of culture, such as the Egyptians, the Syrians, and the Iranians, in one idea, submission to the will of God. In spite of this common trend, these various peoples at different phases of culture clung to their own traditions. As an example, they maintained their traditional manner of building even when they had to adapt themselves to the laws of style inherent to their time and to Islam.

A survey of Islamic architecture reveals two types of building of different origin and character. First, the memorial buildings, such as tombs, tomb towers, and minarets; second, the open-court buildings of the mosques and madrasas. The buildings of the first group are not spatial, but plastic. The domed tombs, or kubbas, cannot be considered pure spatial buildings, because that formation was not the primary object of these buildings but was only a necessary result of their object as memorials. A proof of this is the darkness of their interiors, which get whatever light they may have through four barred windows only. Such constructions cannot be classed with spatial buildings such as the Pantheon, in which space was the primary problem and was placed in relation to, and dependence on, infinite space by means of the widely open opening in the zenith of the cupola. This relation to open space was always emphasized by the skylight lantern in Western architecture. Those who, recalling the never-to-be-forgotten effects of light and space in the Pantheon, have visited the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur, the largest domed building in the East and exceeding the Pantheon in space, will remember how disappointed they were in their expectations. The light is too scanty to give life to the space, which remains the whole day in leaden twilight. Gol Gumbaz is not a space building and could not have been conceived as such, but is simply a monumental memorial.

In what category of style can these buildings be placed? Let us recapitulate the four categories within which the totality of the pre-Christian periods of style, that all belong to the objective view of life, has been realized. First, the formation of the plane through ornament by primitive hunting tribes of the Old Stone Age; second, the formation of single space by means of plastic single figures which are not yet in standing position, i.e., are not yet tectonized, such as the palaeolithic "Venuses" and negro sculpture; third, the connecting of such single figures, i.e., their tectonization, and thus the formation of limited partial space, the evolutionary step that was taken in the polytheistic phases of human culture; fourth, the formation of general space since Hellenism, which culminated in architecture in the formation of the interior—in the separation of closed space from general space—while its original



sphere was the creation of pictures, the aim of which is the representation of general space.

As has been learned, this series of styles is repeated in the post-Christian period of subjective transcendental views of life, but on a different plane. All that had been already created could not simply be pushed aside, and it was continued under other names.

It now becomes possible to determine the mass of Islamic memorial buildings according to category—they belong to the tectonic order, the formation of limited partial space; to the phase of polytheistic religions as it had been visualized in the art of the great old oriental empires and of Greece. The greatest mental achievement of Hellenism, the discovery of general space with all its cultural consequences and its realization in art, had no effect on the peoples who spread and organized a new world religion in the eighth century A.D. Islamic architecture did not take part in the forming of the interior, although it appears now and then as a borrowed form. Later Osmanic architecture cannot be cited as an exception, as it developed entirely in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance. Although Islamic architecture remained in the categorical order of pre-Christian tectonics, its buildings were nevertheless raised to the phase of contemporary polar ornamentality and are thus to be recognized as children of the period of absolute, so to say, aprioristic general space, and artistically placed in connection with the pneumatic view of life, of which they are witnesses.

Before this correlation is considered, a few observations may be added on the categorical tectonics of Islamic buildings and their origin. As has been indicated the tomb memorial and beacon tower are tectonized forms of ancient landmarks, such as the stakes and mounds of primitive tribes—in Iran chiefly of northern nomads.<sup>4</sup> This applies too, with certain restrictions, to the domed tombs which go back to primitive house forms. Thus there is here a tectonization of ancient primitive forms, such as is found among all peoples of the earth who are in the polytheistic phase of religion. The mounds with round bases and globular- or cupola-formed shapes, or pyramids on square foundations, erected by the Red Indians of the North Atlantic coast may be taken as examples. Similar landmarks and burial hills (kurgans) were, according to the reports of travelers in former centuries, scattered over the Russian and Asiatic steppes. All these simple tectonizations are the precursors of that tectonic development which led to the pyramids and obelisks in Egypt, the pyramid temples of Mexico and South America, the stupas in India and Further India, the pagodas in China, the brick-built memorials in Iran, and the thousands of domed tombs and memorials of saints all over the Islamic world. These innumerable landmarks and memorials spread over the earth characterize their countries far better than the spatial buildings do, and all belong to the same category of style, the tectonic order, and are the result of century-long development, starting their career in the second, the plastic phase of single space, as primitive wood stakes, stone-heaped pyramids, dolmen menhirs, and kurgans. They are anthropologically much more interesting, and from the human historical standpoint more revealing, than the far later spatial buildings.

In order to arrive at concrete conclusions a distinction must now be made between primitive and developed, early and late, archaic and classical tectonics. The totem poles of the American Indians are tectonizations, and the classical temple of the Greeks is still a tectonically

<sup>4</sup> E. Diez, *Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churasan* (Hagen i. H., 1923), pp. 51 ff.

determined building. The reach from the totem post to the Greek temple is the path of development from tectonized single objects to the partial space acquired through the tectonization of a number of features such as walls and columns, and this space, embodied in the Greek temple, represents the *totality* of Greek architecture. Now, in this group of Islamic buildings there is no concern with partial space but only with tectonized single objects which stand as a rule alone and isolated in a plain or on a hill. They would not be considered as partial-space formations, unless they were known to be centers, for instance, of a *Paradeisos* surrounded by an arrangement of columns like the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. Such a tectonization may have been carried out much more frequently than can be ascertained today, as such garden-like tectonic enclosures were always destroyed. Yet there are enough instances which exclude such a partial-space tectonization, on account of the isolated position on a hill, so that neither a positive nor a negative conclusion should be drawn. Our present memorials (for instance, of prominent men) belong to the same early phase of the tectonic order when they do not exercise a determined function in a more extensive tectonic partial-space formation, such as the central point of street rays in a city. Such examples only prove that all features in older phases of style are preserved and again made use of with new stylistic significance in later phases. Through experience one can test quite simply how completely different their stylistic function is in historical cultures. If one thinks of Egypt, first pyramids and obelisks, then perhaps also the pylon front of a temple, appear before the mind's eye, but certainly not the interior of such a building; in China, the curved roof or a whole pagoda; in India the stupa; in Greece the temple; but in Rome the *interior* of the Pantheon or of the Christian basilica; in Constantinople the interior of Saint Sophia; in Cairo or Baghdad, again, the minarets and cupolas of the tombs only. These associated images are the infallible eidola of the characteristic phases of style for different cultures. While the tectonic single objects, such as obelisks, pagodas, or minarets, characterize sufficiently Egypt, China, and the Islamic Orient, this category of buildings does not signify anything at all either for imperial or papal Rome, or for Paris, though they were and are very frequently to be found in these cities. Thus one comes to the conclusion that Islamic architecture is partly characterized by buildings which belong to an earlier phase of the tectonic formation. They are only raised to the contemporary transcendental phase by their polar ornamentality.

The column-and-pillar mosques as well as the iwan-mosque-madrasas may be considered as the next group. Here, too, there is a purely tectonic formation, which was only placed in connection with general space by the chiaroscuro of the colonnades in the courtyard. Interiors of the general-space order had long dominated in the Christian realm, while Islam still found its totality in a purely tectonic type. Hellenism formed single-space units, imperial Roman art combined them in the public baths, but still in a tectonic way, the Christian basilica already knew the composition of space-units, aisle, transept, and apse. In the eighth and ninth centuries, when in the Byzantine Orient the basilicas had been long supplanted by the domed churches, which were spatially far better organized, Islam built its tectonic pillar mosques and continued to do so for centuries.

The madrasa was the next type of prayer house. It made its way from Iran to the western countries of Islam.<sup>5</sup> Instead of column or pillar halls square courts were now built, with lofty

<sup>5</sup> Diez, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-65, 82-88.



iwans in the main axes and cell niches. The iwan of the *ḳibla* was now used for the prayers and a dark-domed hall containing the prayer niche often lay behind it. What has been style-genetically changed as compared to the mosque with pillared court? One now stands in a court surrounded by high walls with two-story cells and iwans in which complete symmetry of the organization of the walls dominates, instead of in a court surrounded by pillars, the arcades of which are too low to allow an impression of space. Although the court is open at the top, it is a space creation, as are also the lofty-arched iwans, which intensify the space *kubus* in the four axes. Such are the half-open types of space, which were created in the Hellenistic period, when *general space* became for the first time style-totality in art. The wall forms, however, no longer belong to the "simple-compositional" Hellenistic phase with plastic tectonization of the walls, but to the phase of polar composition, which now employs *general-spatial tectonic forms*, such as walls, arches, and vaults. This phase of style developed in the Roman imperial period. The earlier classic Greek spatial limits were now extended to indefinite general-spatial features by means of arches and vaults instead of columns and beams. Yet the relation to antique tectonics was not abolished in Roman architecture so long as buildings with beams supported by columns or piers continued, and walls, arches, and vaults were subordinated to it. Polar composition in general space did not assert itself till the end of the first century of our era, when brick wall as well as vaulting became dominant.

Finally let us consider the domed building as the most puzzling one from the point of style-genesis. The formation of the interior was achieved by Hellenism. Hall buildings or stoas in two stories and interior-space buildings such as basilicas, council rooms, and libraries are the new types, which the architects of Hellenistic interiors created essentially with the old tectonic means of columns and beams in combination with walls. They also built rooms with barrel-vaulted ceilings, but not the dome, which was not used till the time of polar composition. Till then the formation of cupolas started from below and rose to the top, but now in the building of domes it begins from the top, not technically, but according to the logic of form and therefore lying within the conception of such buildings. For an architect designing a dome, the dome itself is the main point which he tries to visualize, and from this he descends to form the walls in the service of, and dependent on this idea. The central form of building is a mere result. The classical example of this is the Pantheon. Whoever enters first looks upward, and his first impression is the magnificent extension of the space of the dome. The rotunda is the most complete stylistically and the most satisfying solution of this, the greatest building idea of polar composition. Coellen formulates the imperial-Roman style order as it is manifested in the Pantheon, as demarcation of an inner space from the assumed general space and its formation into a dynamic unity, organized in a pictorial *chiaroscuro* ambient, leaving out of consideration the formal inherent values of the components of individual space. He finds it important that here dynamic effect is produced through the constant curving of the plane towards the cylinder-and-cupola form, so that we must speak of dynamic architecture as opposed to static. This alone distinguishes such a domed building from an Islamic one with its straight static walls.

There now arises the intrinsic question as to whether all Islamic dome buildings are to be regarded as polarly composed and therefore conceptionally of the same kind as Western

ones. In order to understand the Islamic attitude better, let us first glance at the stylistic-genetic development of Christian dome building which preceded that of Islam. The Christian basilica is a new form of building which depends upon the composition of the features, such as the narthex, aisle, transept, and apse. By means of this typical collective character of its space parts, the basilica became a prototype of polar composition, the parts of which denote ornamentalistic order. Communication with outside space is brought about by the rows of windows. Since the reign of Justinian the basilica has been replaced in the East by the vaulted central-space building, while in the West, at any rate, the baptisteries, memorial churches, and mausoleums were mostly domed.

In contrast to the basilica, which was something new from the stylistic-genetic standpoint, the early Christian tendency of style found in the domed halls of imperial Rome a type of space-form which was rooted in the conditions of the organistic space individual. The object was to transform this type in the sense of a Christian standpoint into a composition of space-features with a cubistic collective character and with the plane as a boundary layer. This transformation took place in the Byzantine East—Saint Sophia is the most brilliant result of the central building transformed into cubistic ornamentality. The predominance of the plane was necessary for ornamentality, and the whole construction is a clear result of this demand. The central body, which was originally placed on the round (e.g., Pantheon), is dominated by the plane. The portion of space over which the central dome rises is no longer the cylinder of the walls but the square bounded by four huge pillars. The square, in exceptional cases replaced by the polygon, also became the typical plan-form for all Islamic domed buildings. An octagonal intervening zone, which forms the transition to the dome, is placed on four solid square walls.

There are two important differences between the Islamic and the Christian-Byzantine domed buildings: the Islamic dome always rests on solid walls with a horizontal termination instead of on pillars, and the transition is formed by separating squinches instead of by connecting pendentives. The impression of cubism and ornamentality is still more intensified by the four unbroken walls of the main body, and the space effect, too, is quite different through the towering of cubus, prism, and calotte. These buildings are not, like the Pantheon type, conceived from above, thus polarly out of a space-conception, but on the contrary quite normally from below, in tectonic layers. We cannot consider constraint on account of material or technical difficulties as an objection, for the spirit ever conquers the material on the path of its aim.

On the other hand, as we cannot deny the polarity of the Islamic religion and therefore of its art also—in the case of these buildings it can only be a question of inhibitions for the overcoming of which the mental attitude of Islam was not dynamic enough. This does not refer to its outward vitality but to the lack of the profound ethical emotional background of the Christian world, that was already latent in the pre-Christian.

Oriental architecture also lacked the sense for the composition of space-features, as they were realized in Christian basilicas and in Byzantine central buildings. Islamic architecture has no spheric exedras nor apses. The walls of their domed spaces are stepped by rectangular recesses. The Mediterranean triconcha was rejected by Islamic architecture, which admitted



only the straight wall as the termination of space. The curved plane had to be taken into the bargain only in the case of the dome, but various methods were employed to flatten it out by means of ornamenting. Thus the real function of the Islamic dome lay in its outward effect, which was heightened by the reflecting splendor of its glazed spheres. For this reason the Turks and Mongols imitated the double-shelled towering stupas scattered over Central Asia when they built their memorials in Samarkand, Iran, and Egypt.

The conclusion follows that dome-building, though it was abundantly employed in Islamic architecture and can even be regarded as an architectural eidolon of Islam, did not play the same creative role style-genetically as in the West. So, in the face of all the discussions on this problem during the last few decades, the surprising but inevitable conclusion is that the genuine dome as polar space-building originated entirely in the Western mind and did not come from the East. This does not mean that the slightest doubt is cast on the theory that the architectural invention of dome-shaped vaulting almost certainly belongs to the Afro-Asiatic desert zone. This is a question dealing exclusively with the *style-genetic function* of the dome as spatial formation from the standpoint of art.

Every comparison of medieval Christian with Islamic spatial composition confirms the theory that the evolution from the tectonic partial-space to the general-space form has been denied to Islamic architecture. The Christian church composes with space-units and arranges them in spatial crystals; Islamic mosque- and palace-building set partial spaces beside each other at divergent axes and frequently even in a directly misleading labyrinthic manner. Those who have gone through the palace Chihil Sutun in Işfahān and tried to understand the arrangement of the halls and porticoes by drawing a plan have experienced this confusion in spite of the symmetric scheme. And why do the prayers at the great general religious services stand in long horizontal rows parallel to the latitudinal Kibla wall and form ten to twenty even layers one behind the other? The law of ornamentality is thus confirmed in life.

One of the main means of the polar ornamental order of style is *immaterialization*. The hard and heavy effect of the material is to be annulled as far as possible by *Tiefendunkel*, resplendence, and luster. While we find this principle applied in the interior of Byzantine cathedrals, it is the leading formative factor of the outward appearance of buildings, especially of monuments without inner space, in Islamic architecture. The Iranian tomb towers as well as the minarets emphasize ornamentality by disintegrating their wall surface with brick relief work, with ornamentalized rows of pillars and tiled spheric roofs. The façades of the mosques, madrasas, and musallas are covered with tiles. The masonry is in strictly cubic forms and coated with colored ornamentation which visualizes ornamental color effects in an isolated and cubistic arrangement of pure pigment surfaces. The *static* regularly geometric plan predominates and relates all individual forms into an ornamental rhythm. The construction of the linear configurations is irrational as far as possible—beginning, course, and end—insoluble for the spectator's eye, and thus elevated above the limits of normal human reason into the sphere of divine inscrutability. These nets of lines and formulas, though thought out by human intellect, signify to a certain degree an outwitting and a supernatural surpassing of the limits of human reason.

The best confirmation for the categorization of Islamic art as being polar-ornamentalistic is the Persian denotation of a rug pattern as *zemān* ("time"), and of the ground as *zemin* ("space").<sup>6</sup>

No more significant metaphor, indeed, could have been found for the philosophic aspect conforming to our ornamentality on the transcendental polar level. The third and the fourth dimensions, space and time, are thus projected and interwoven in a two-dimensional weft. Metaphorically the whole Islamic ornamentation has this spiritual function. The manifold arabesque schemes were supposed to visualize transcendentalism and fulfilled this task in two-dimensional polar ornamentality.

Besides this general symbolism, however, almost every single figure of any ornamental design, animal or plant, as well as every color, has a concrete mystic and symbolic significance and thus a polar orientation.<sup>7</sup> And it is this latent ambiguity which encouraged the flowery speech of Oriental poetry.

The problem of book illumination has already been discussed in a previous article on Sino-Mongolian temple painting.<sup>8</sup> Iranian book illumination belongs to the same category as the Eastern Turkestan-Chinese school of painting alluded to there. This painting is ornamentalistic-cubistic in an ambient of general space, which is not the result but the supposition of the formation of design. There is, however, a static and a dynamic phase traceable, just as in the evolution from Romanesque toward Gothic. The well-known Iranian illustration of Rustam's sleep in the *Shāh Nāme* of 868 H. (1463 A.D.) is a good example of the dynamic phase.<sup>9</sup>

To summarize, Islamic art appears as the individuation of its metaphysical basis (*unendlichen Grund*). This individuation is mechanistic-cubistic, not organizistic like classic Greek and Roman art. The totality of existence was represented by the collective-mass individual, not by the single one. Islamic art had mechanistic individuation in common with Christian art up to the Renaissance, but remained at the ornamentalistic level determined by the magic-life philosophy.<sup>10</sup> The individualistic tendency of the western Romanesque style since the ninth century A.D. is not traceable in Islamic art, though Eastern and Western mysticism developed in a similar manner.

The aim of such a study is primarily morphological. In contrast to individuations of the metaphysical basis in other categories of a culture, the individuation in art is visible and legible, and, adequately analyzed, indicates convincingly the limits of the entelechy of a historical culture. This could be confirmed by a similar investigation of poetry and philosophy. Thus the conditions may be prepared for a comparative morphology of human cultures.

<sup>6</sup> J. Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandjird* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The symbolism of Islamic elements of pattern according to the Arabic and Persian authors is discussed by Karabacek, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-67.

<sup>8</sup> E. Diez, "Sino-Mongolian Temple Painting and Its Influence on Persian Illumination," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), Pt. 2, 168-70.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the schedule in the first part of this article, "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art."



# EIN ARCHAISCHER MINARET-TYP IN AGYPTEN UND ANATOLIEN

## VON JOSEPH SCHACHT

ES STEHT FEST, DASS DIE ÄLTESTEN MOSCHEEN DES ISLAM KEIN MINARET BESASSEN UND DASS der Gebetsruf von einem erhöhten Punkte in der Nähe der Moschee—sei es von dem hohen Dache eines benachbarten Hauses, sei es von der Stadtmauer—ausgerufen wurde. Creswell<sup>1</sup> stellt das erste Auftreten des Minarets folgendermassen dar: “Maqrīzī, speaking of this reconstruction (der Moschee des ‘Amr in Fustāṭ unter Mu‘āwiya), says that the Khalif Mu‘āwiya ordered Maslama ‘to build *ṣawāmi*’ (pl. of *ṣauma‘a*) for the adhān. So Maslama constructed four *ṣawāmi*’ for the mosque [of ‘Amr] at its four corners. He was the first one to construct them in it, there having been none before his time. . . . The ladder (*sullam*) by means of which the mu‘adhdhins mounted, was in the street until Khālid ibn Sa‘d transported it inside the mosque.’ At the same time minarets (*manār*) for the mu‘adhdhins were added to the *masjids* of all the Khiṭṭas, except those of Khaulān and Tujīb [die in der Nähe der Hauptmoschee gelegen waren und daher keine eigenen Minarets brauchten]. This is our first reference to a minaret. . . . There is therefore reason for believing that the four *ṣawāmi*’ of Maslama were suggested by the four towers at the *temenos* at Damascus [die von den Muslims als Stellen für den Gebetsruf benutzt worden waren], and that they were small square towers,<sup>2</sup> and additional support is lent to this idea by the fact that *ṣauma‘a* is the term used throughout North Africa for minarets, which are almost always square towers in that region.” Nur in einem Punkte möchte ich Creswell’s Auffassung modifizieren, nämlich was die Gestalt dieser *ṣawāmi*’ anlangt. Denn weder das funktionelle Vorbild der massigen, aber niedrigen Türme des *temenos* von Damaskus noch der technische Gebrauch von *ṣauma‘a* für das nordafrikanische Minaret, das zudem aus den von jenen merklich verschiedenen, relativ hohen syrischen Kirchtürmen abzuleiten ist, kann uns veranlassen, die ersten *ṣawāmi*’ der ‘Amr-Moschee als “Türme” aufzufassen. Vielmehr haben wir uns nach den mit der Etymologie des Wortes in Einklang stehenden Angaben der arabischen Lexikographen<sup>3</sup> die *ṣauma‘a* zunächst als eine Hütte mit spitzem Dach vorzustellen, und die Übertragung des Terminus auf Minarets von anderer Gestalt ist nicht weiter auffällig. Wir kommen also auf den von Creswell beifällig zitierten Ausdruck Corbet’s “sentry boxes” zurück.<sup>4</sup>

Dieser zu einer bestimmten Zeit von der ‘Amr-Moschee repräsentierte Minaret-Typus ist mit seinen beiden Bestandteilen, der Treppe<sup>5</sup> und dem “Schilderhäuschen,” noch heute unter den ägyptischen Dorfmoscheen weit verbreitet, und auf sein Fortleben aufmerksam zu machen, ist der Zweck dieser Mitteilung. Das hier vorgelegte Material, das sich beliebig vermehren liesse, aber zur erstmaligen Feststellung genügt, stammt von einem systematischen Besuch der

<sup>1</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* . . . (Oxford, 1932), I, p. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dazu gibt Creswell die Anmerkung: “Corbet had already come to this conclusion: ‘It is difficult to say what the exact form of these may have been . . . : in all likelihood they were but something like sentry boxes, perched on the roof of each corner . . . .’”

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. z.B. E. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), IV, p. 1728; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, X, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Creswell selbst stellt sich die *ṣawāmi*’ im Endeffekt wohl nicht viel anders vor, wenn er sie als “small square towers” bezeichnet.

<sup>5</sup> *Sullam* bezeichnet sowohl Leiter wie Treppe; vgl. z.B. Lane, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1416: “a ladder, or a series of stairs or steps . . . either of wood or of clay [etc.] . . .”



FIG. 1—MULAQQATA, MINARET (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 2—KAFR AL-'UḌLĀB, MOSCREE (MARKAZ IDFŪ)



FIG. 3—KHAṬṬĀRA, MINARET (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 4—QURNA, MOSCREE (MARKAZ LUXOR)





FIG. 6—NAG' AL-HIJĀB, MOSCREE (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 8—AL-'ABBĀSA, MOSCREE (MARKAZ ZAGAZIG)



FIG. 5—NAG' ASH-SHĪMA, MOSCREE (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 7—QURNAT MUR'Ī, GRAEMOSCREE SHEIKH AL-WARDĪ (MARKAZ LUXOR)



FIG. 9—'IZBAT AL-WATTÂR BEI FÂQÛS, MOSCREE



FIG. 10—NAG' ASH-SHADÂ'IDA, MOSCREE (MARKAZ (ASWÂN)



FIG. 11—NAG' ASH-SHADÂ'IDA, MINARET TREPPE (MARKAZ ASWÂN)





FIG. 12—NAG' AL-KHALĀSH, MOSCREE (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 13—GRABWOSCREE SHEIKH 'ALĪ (MARKAZ ASWĀN)



FIG. 14—KAYSERI, MOSCREE



FIG. 15



FIG. 16



FIG. 17

FIG. 15-17—KAYSERI, MOSCHEE





FIG. 18—MILAS, MOSCHEE DES AHMED GHÂZÎ VON 1378



FIG. 20—KADILÎ BEI ALIŞAR, MOSCHEE VON 1169



FIG. 19—MILAS, VIERTEL HACI İLYAS, QURSHUNLU DJÂMÎ  
(AUCH KÜÇÜK DJÂMÎ UND ŞALÂHEDDİN DJÂMÎ) VON 1330

zwischen Aswān und Khaṭṭāra (der nächsten Bahnstation, 13 km. nördlich von Aswān) auf dem rechten Nilufer gelegenen Moscheen, ergänzt durch einige Aufnahmen an anderen Punkten.<sup>6</sup> Tatsächlich ist dieser Minaret-Typ über das ganze Land verbreitet, und wenn er auch in und in der Nähe von grösseren Ortschaften meist durch das Minaret osmanischen Stiles—ganz abgesehen von der bisher schlechthin als ägyptisch bezeichneten Minaret-Form der Hauptstadt—verdrängt worden ist, darf er doch als der Normalfall bei ägyptischen Dorfmoscheen, soweit sie überhaupt Minarets besitzen, angesehen werden.

Die Treppe läuft entweder im rechten Winkel auf eine Wand der Moschee zu (*Fig. 1* und *2*), oder sie führt an ihr entlang (*Fig. 3–6*); in al-Maḥāmīd (20 km. nördlich von Idfū), wo die Länge der Wand zur Gewinnung des Dachniveaus nicht ausreicht, ist die Treppe um eine Ecke der Moschee herum an zwei Wänden entlanggeführt. Selbst wenn die Treppe an der Moscheewand entlangläuft, ist sie regelmässig von aussen angebaut und entweder direkt (*Fig. 1–3*) oder von den Nebenanlagen der Moschee aus (*Fig. 4*) zugänglich; in Nag' ash-Shīma (*Fig. 5*) verhindert eine eigene Tür an ihrem Fusse unbefugten Eintritt, in Nag' al-Ḥijāb (*Fig. 6*) ist ihr Fuss vom Inneren der Moschee aus durch eine Pforte zu erreichen, der Aufstieg erfolgt aber auch hier an der Aussenseite der Wand. Die Treppe erreicht das Dach an einer Ecke der Moschee, und hier befindet sich meist ein kleiner Kiosk, das oben erwähnte "Schilderhäuschen"; bei der kleinen Grabmoschee Sheikh al-Wardī (*Fig. 7*), deren Dach überhaupt nicht zugänglich ist, hat man doch einen solchen Kiosk über der einen Ecke des Gebäudes errichtet. Figuren 8 und 9 zeigen zwei einfache Treppen-Minarets aus Holz bzw. Eisen im Delta, bei denen der Kiosk durch eine Brüstung ersetzt ist. Bisweilen fehlt das "Schilderhäuschen" ganz, sodass das Minaret architektonisch allein durch die Treppe vertreten ist; ein besonders schönes Beispiel für diesen Typ liefert die Moschee von Nag' ash-Shadā'ida (*Fig. 10* und *11*). Das gleiche Prinzip liegt in der Moschee von Nag' al-Khalāṣāb (*Fig. 12*) vor: ihr Grundplan zeigt einen offenen Hof, dem an der Kibla-Seite eine Pfeilerhalle mit einer Kuppel über der Mihrāb-Vierung vorgelagert ist; beide sind von einer gemeinsamen Umfassungsmauer, die für den Hofteil erheblich niedriger gelassen ist als für den Hallenteil, umschlossen; dem schliesst sich ander der Kibla gegenüberliegenden Seite noch eine flachgedeckte, an beiden Längsseiten offene Halle an. Hier steigt, wie mir berichtet wurde, der Mu'adhahin unter Benutzung des Sockels und der Nischen von aussen auf die Umfassungsmauer des Mittelhofes und über den roh treppenförmig gelassenen Übergang auf das Dach der Kibla-Halle hinauf, das er an einer Ecke erreicht. Häufig ist der Kiosk seinerseits zu einem gedrungenen Minaret-Turm mit Wendeltreppe im Inneren unter Weglassung der geradlinigen Leiter-Treppe entwickelt; so in der Grabmoschee Sheikh 'Alī (*Fig. 13*) und in der einen der beiden Moscheen von Nag' al-'Uqbīya (unmittelbar nördlich von al-Maḥāmīd; die andere hat das reguläre Treppen- und "Schilderhäuschen"-Minaret).

Denselben Minaret-Typ hatte ich in Kayseri (Anatolien) beobachtet (*Fig. 14–17*);<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Zu den Ortsnamen vgl. die Kartenblätter 1:100,000 des *Survey of Egypt*.

<sup>7</sup> A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris, 1931–34), I (Kayseri-Niğde); II (Amasya-Tokat-Sivas), behandelt weder die hier mitgeteilten noch andere ähnliche Beispiele; doch verdient seine Bemerkung über die Ulu Djāmi' in Kayseri (I, p. 35) angeführt zu werden: "Du sol de la mosquée, un escalier à volées rectilignes conduit au niveau de la terrasse: de là on gagne l'escalier

à vis qui s'élève jusqu'au sommet du minaret. Ce dispositif prouve que le minaret . . . fut édifié après coup [die Moschee wurde wohl in der 1. Hälfte des 12. Jahrh. erbaut, und 1205 restauriert]. C'est toutefois le plus ancien des minarets de Kayseri"; dazu die Anmerkung: "Les plus anciennes mosquées de l'Anatolie ne possédaient point de minaret et c'est du haut des terrasses qu'on appelait les fidèles à la prière . . ."



diese Beispiele stehen aber keineswegs vereinzelt da. P. Wittek schreibt in seinem Beitrag "Milet in der türkischen Zeit"<sup>8</sup> über die Gemeindemoschee von Balat (= Milet), die sog. Treppenmoschee (Merdiven-Djāmi'; wohl aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrh.), über die Aḥmed-Ghāzī-Moschee in Milas (von 1378) und über die dortige ältere Moschee (von 1330): "ihr Minaret ist eine Plattform, zu der man auf einer geradlinigen, entlang einer der Aussenwände der Moschee geführten, schmalen Steintreppe hinansteigt."<sup>9</sup> In demselben Werk<sup>10</sup> schreibt Wulzinger über die Qyrq-Merdiven-Djāmi' ("40-Treppen-Moschee") in Balat: ihr Name "bezieht sich jedenfalls auf die als Minaret dienende Steinstiege, welche ohne Verband mit der Mauer parallel zu ihr aussen an die Westwand der Moschee angelehnt ist (Breite 87 cm). Jetzt hat dieses Treppenminaret noch 17 Stufen; es mögen ursprünglich etwa 24 gewesen sein, wenn man eine kleine Plattform annimmt und die Verschüttung von 70–80 cm in Betracht zieht. Die Zahl 40 bezeichnet nach dem Sprachgebrauch lediglich eine Vielheit." P. Wittek hatte die Güte, mich auf diese Stellen und auf seine im Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Istanbul befindlichen Aufnahmen der beiden Minarets von Milas (*Fig. 18* und *19*) hinzuweisen.<sup>11</sup> Bei diesen westanatolischen Beispielen fehlt also das "Schilderhäuschen" (Wittek), im Gegensatz zu den oben angeführten aus Kayseri und einem weiteren aus derselben Gegend, dessen Beschreibung und Aufnahme (*Fig. 20*) ebenfalls von P. Wittek stammen: "Kadili, kleine Ortschaft in der Nähe von Alişar auf dem Weg nach Terzili Hammam. Als Minaret der Moschee dient eine durch eine Treppe erreichbare Ecke des Gebäudes, mit einem von vier Säulen getragenen Kegeldach überdeckt. . . . Die Versinschrift über der Tür, vom Jahre 1169, nennt als Erbauer einen Gefolgsmann des Aḥmed Agha, Voyvoden von Bozok (wohl identisch mit dem 1178 verstorbenen Čapan-oghlu Aḥmed Pasha). Ich erinnere mich, mehrere solcher Treppen-Moscheen im Vilayet Yozgat und im Vilayet Kayseri gesehen zu haben, datiert war aber nur diese."

Zu der Frage nach den Beziehungen zwischen dem ägyptischen und dem anatolischen Verbreitungsgebiet dieses Minaret-Typus äussert sich P. Wittek brieflich im folgenden Sinne: "Da ich den Typ gerade in ausgesprochenen 'Ghāzī'-Gebieten antraf, glaubte ich Überbleibsel eines einst allgemein verbreiteten anatolischen Moschee-Typus vor mir zu haben, der für die Ghāzī-Perioden (also im Osten für die Dānishmenden-Zeit, im Westen für das 14. Jahrh.) charakteristisch ist. Um klar zu sehen, müsste man noch viel mehr Material besitzen und vor allem auch genau sagen können, wo der Typ fehlt. Wichtig wäre es vor allem zu wissen, ob er in Syrien, besonders in Nordsyrien, und in Mesopotamien vorkommt. Wenn dies der Fall ist, wäre er eben aus den *Thughūr*—den Grenzgebieten, die in allem hinter der Entwicklung zurückbleiben, also archaische Züge bewahren—nach Kleinasien gelangt. Für Milet und Umgebung besteht aber auch die Möglichkeit eines direkten ägyptischen Einflusses: Balat war Hafen und stand besonders mit Ägypten in Verbindung. Wichtig aber ist die Feststellung, dass es sich um den für die 'Amr-Moschee in Fustāt bezeugten Typ handelt, der in den Dorfmoscheen von Ägypten noch weiterlebt."

<sup>8</sup> In *Das islamische Milet* (Berlin, 1935), S. 4.

<sup>9</sup> So ist nach einer brieflichen Mitteilung des Verf. die Jahreszahl 1329 der Publikation zu verbessern.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Für die Überlassung der Vorlagen für Abb. 18–20 bin ich dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Istanbul verpflichtet.

THROUGH FUNDS PROVIDED BY MISS BARBARA COOPER IT WAS POSSIBLE DURING THE AUTUMN of 1934 for the Cyprus Museum to investigate some sources of glazed Byzantine pottery in Cyprus. This pottery is well known throughout the Near East in the late Byzantine and early Turkish periods, and some fine specimens are found in Cyprus. Indeed, the Cyprus Museum has a large and interesting collection of bowls of this ware, although little is known of their history or provenance. Many are said to have come from graves near old churches, and it was with a view to investigating these reports that a small excavation was undertaken at Episcopi.

Episcopi, situated some eight miles west of Limassol, was a village of some importance during the Lusignan period. It was a fief of the Ibelins, counts of Jaffa, and in the fourteenth century passed into the hands of the Cornaro family from Venice; thence it was called "La Piscopia dei Cornari," and a branch of the family became known as "Cornaro della Piscopia."<sup>1</sup>

A number of ruined churches cluster in and around the village, most of which were finally destroyed to build the modern church of Saint Chrysostomos. One of these, near the sea, originally held a relic of Saint Hermogenes, and another called "Catholiki" was possibly the seat of a bishop.<sup>2</sup> The sites chosen for excavation were Ayios Mamas at the north end of the village, and Chrysanayotissa, on the ridge to the west of the main road to Paphos.

### THE EXCAVATIONS

#### AYIOS MAMAS

This church, called "Catholiki" on the Kitchener survey,<sup>3</sup> is about a quarter of a mile from the northern limits of the village, not far from the school. Nothing now remains of the church and its surrounding buildings but a mound of stones. A few of the villagers said that the walls were standing some fifty years ago, but the stones were then taken to build the new church. As it was our object to investigate the graves only such notice was taken of architectural features as came within the area of work.

An area approximately 11 m. by 3 m. was cleared around the apse of the church, revealing a quantity of foundations among which the graves were placed. The foundations (*Plan Ia; Fig. 1*) showed that the church had been rebuilt at one period; the lowest were well constructed of local limestone, and included the broad footings of a double apse and the south terrace wall which bounds the excavation. Large blocks of dressed stone had been used for the wall of the apses, but many had been removed to make niches for the graves.

The second church, rebuilt as it stood in the last century, was not more than 15 m. to 20 m. long and was poorly constructed within the north apse of the first church.

The loose stone wall forming the eastern boundary of the excavation and the cross wall between meters 8 and 9 are probably late foundations for a mud-brick enclosure wall and outbuildings.

The graves can be arranged in three groups, corresponding with their layers and in a measure with their periods.

<sup>1</sup> G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Capt. H. H. Kitchener, *Trigonometrical Survey of Cyprus, 1882* (London: Edward Stanford, 1885).



Starting from the surface:

*Layer 1.* Graves 3, 6, and 8-13 (*Plan Ia; Fig. 2*). The graves were situated in a gray alluvial soil around the apse and on the south side of it; none was more than 50 cm. below the surface. All the bodies were placed with their heads to the west.

Grave 3 (*Fig. 3*). Adult skeleton enclosed in a stone-lined grave in the earliest foundations at the east end of the north apse. The skeleton lay extended on the back, with the head slightly turned to the left and the hands resting upon the thighs. The legs had been destroyed by the construction of the boundary wall. The fragments of the bowl, together with the two coins, were scattered over the body.

- a) Green-painted bowl, Form 1, of finely silted buff clay; covered inside with white slip; glaze, thin and yellowish; diameter 17.5 cm. (*Fig. 6*).
- b) Silver coin, Turkish, circa 1603-17; diameter 11 mm. This coin is too badly struck to identify, but is of the type of Aḥmad I ibn Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup>
- c) Bronze coin, Fran. Venier, Doge of Venice, 1554-56; diameter 14 mm.<sup>5</sup>  
Obverse, lion rampant l., + S MARCVS VENETVS.  
Reverse, cross with lozenges between the arms, + FRAN VENERIO DVX.

Graves 6, 8, and 9 are those of adults; the skeletons were placed in extended position with the hands to the sides, and lay directly in the earth. The skeleton in Grave 8 appeared to be in a half-seated position and overlapped Grave 9, which was considerably disturbed by it; the skull of the latter lay between the feet of that in Grave 8. Fragments of pottery were found in Graves 6 and 8.

- Grave 6. a) Base of green sgraffito bowl; creamy clay; white slip inside and out; clear glaze; diameter 7.5 cm. (*Fig. 7*).
- b) A few plain fragments.
- Grave 8. Green-painted bowl, Form 10, of pink clay; white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 14.5 cm. (*Fig. 8*).

Grave 10 contained many disturbed fragments of skeletons in extended positions, lying in the cross wall; on the breast of the southernmost was a bowl.

Green-painted bowl, Form 25, as in Grave 8; diameter 14.5 cm. (*Fig. 9*).

Graves 11, 12, and 13 were those of small babies, a few months old. In Grave 11 the skeleton was practically complete, and the child appeared to have been buried in a seated position. Graves 12 and 13 were rather fragmentary; the skeletons were laid on a rough paving of small stones beside the cross wall.

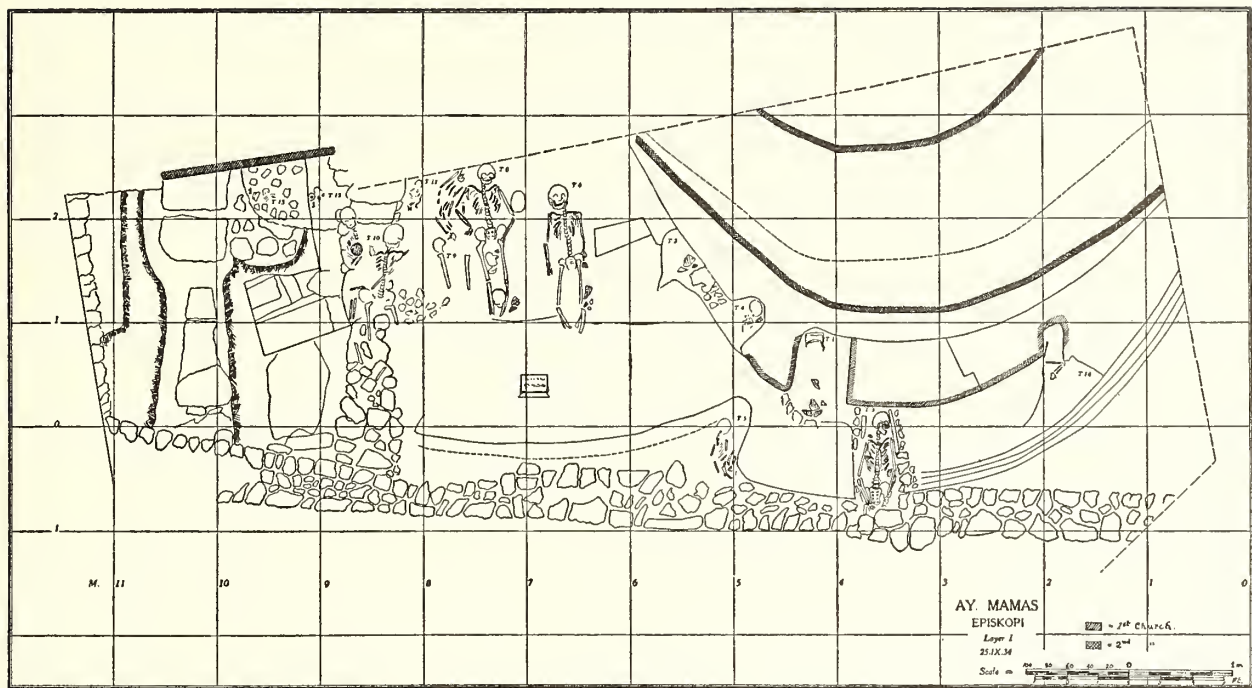
Two plain white bowls, Form 17; red clay; white slip inside and out, not on foot; thin clear glaze; diameter 12 cm.

In the debris of Layer 1 was a quantity of potsherds, together with six bowls and two Venetian coins which could not be attributed to any particular grave.

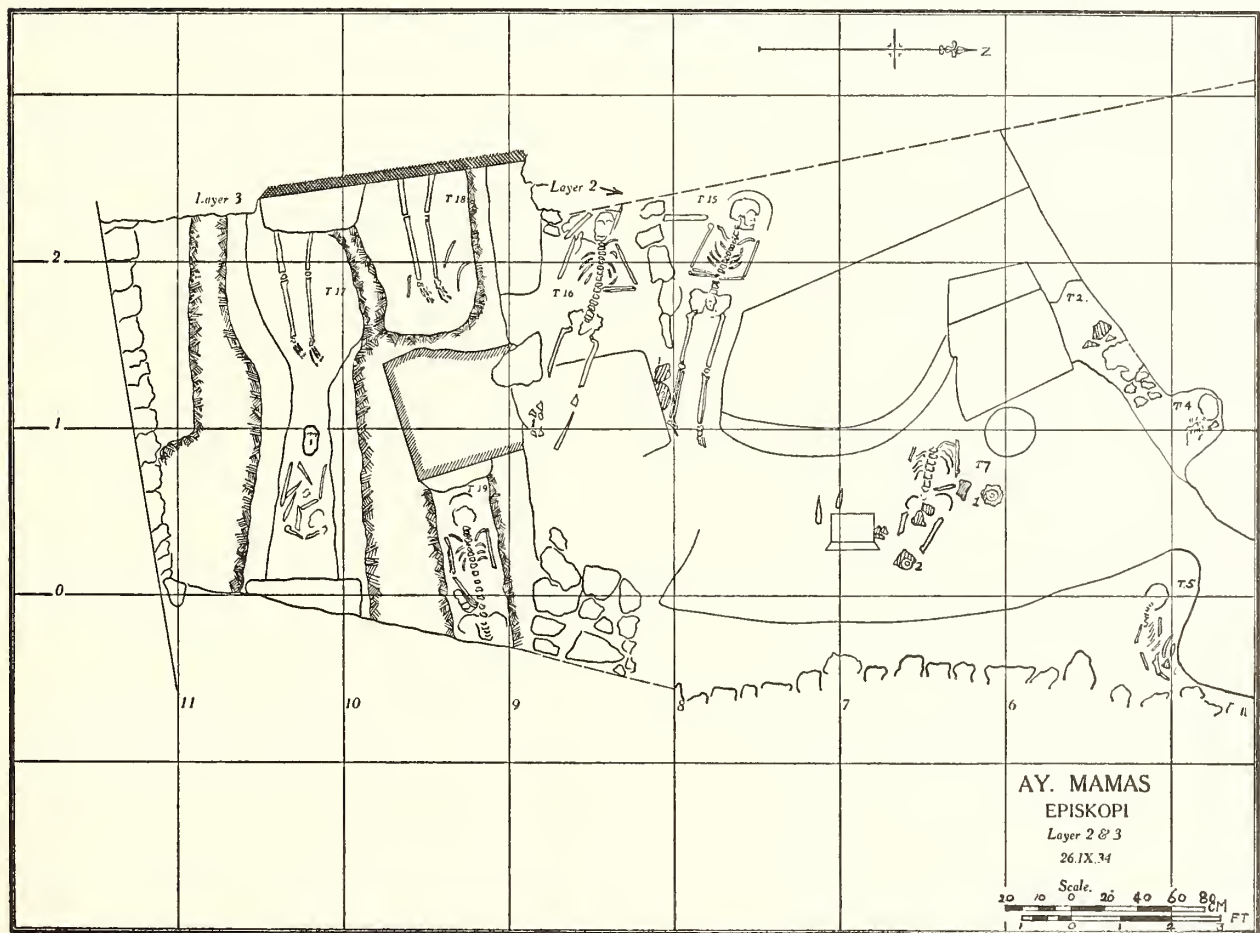
<sup>4</sup> *Cyprus Dept. of Antiquities, Rept.*, 1934, p. 23. It is possible that this coin is intrusive and belongs to the time at which the foundations of the boundary wall were constructed, thus placing the date of this burial in

line with the remainder of this layer.

<sup>5</sup> P. Lampros, *Monnaies inédites du royaume de Chypre au moyen âge* (Paris, 1876), Type 100.



PLAN Ia



PLAN Ib



- Nos. 2, 5. Green-painted bowls, Forms 25, 13; light red to pinkish clay; white slip inside and outside rim; pale yellow glaze; diameters 14.5 cm., 12.5 cm. (*Figs. 13, 14*).
- Nos. 1, 4. Green sgraffito bowls, similar to Figure 18; central design, 1; diameters 15.5 cm., 14.5 cm.
- No. 3. Brown-glaze bowl, Form 23; red gritty clay, covered with paler wash inside and partially outside; dark yellow glaze; diameter 13.5 cm.
- No. 6. Base of green sgraffito bowl, similar to Figure 28; diameter 13 cm.
- No. 7. Bronze sezin of Peter Lauredano, Doge of Venice, 1567-70 (Lampros, No. 102); diameter 19 mm.  
 Obverse, lion rampant l., nimbate + SANCTVS MARCVS VENET.  
 Reverse, cross with lozenges between arms, + PETRVS LAVREDA DVX.
- No. 8. Bronze denier of Hieron. Prioli, 1559-67 (Lampros, No. 100); diameter 13 mm.  
 Obverse, lion rampant l., S MARCVS VENETVS.  
 Reverse, cross with dots between arms, HIERON P[---]I DVX.

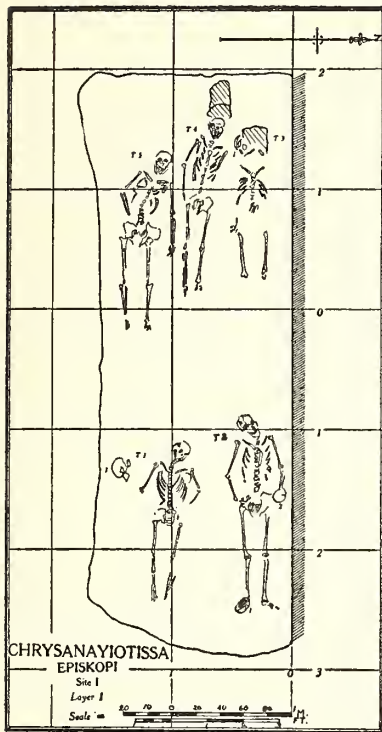
*Layer 2.* Graves 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 14-16 (*Plan Ib; Figs. 2, 4*). The graves were approximately 40 cm. below Layer 1, in a red sandy soil, and also among the early foundations of the church, where stones had been removed to form niches for their reception.

Graves 1, 2, 4, and 5 are burials in these niches. All appear to belong to children less than two years old. But little remained of the bones. In Grave 1 were fragments of a skull; in Grave 4, part of the skull and backbone; and in Grave 5, skull, ribs, and backbone—sufficient to show that the body had been in an extended position.

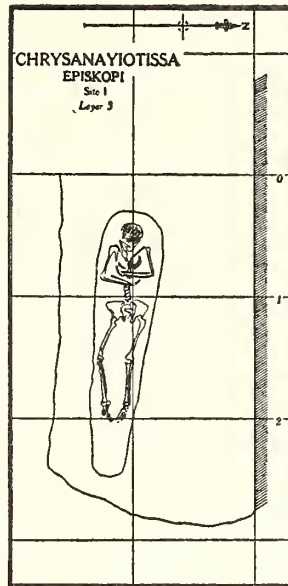
- Grave 1. a) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 8; pink clay; white slip inside and out; light yellow glaze; diameter 15 cm.  
 b) Bronze denier of Janus, King of Cyprus, 1398-1432 (Lampros, No. 67); diameter 15 mm.  
 Obverse, lion rampant l., JANVS ROI D.  
 Reverse, cross, IERVSALEM.
- Grave 2. a) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 28; light pink clay; thick white slip inside and out, not on foot; thin yellow-green glaze; diameter 12.5 cm. (*Fig. 10*).  
 b) Two small strips of bronze mounting.  
 c) Bronze denier of (?) James II of Cyprus, 1382-98 (Lampros, No. 62); diameter 14 mm.  
 Obverse, lion rampant l.  
 Reverse, cross with small cross or star between arms. All border and legend missing.
- Grave 4. Single yellow shard.
- Grave 5. a) Green sgraffito bowl; diameter 15 cm., similar to Figure 18.  
 b) Part of bronze denier of Janus or John II, 1432-58 (Lampros, Nos. 95-98, p. 43); diameter approximately 14 mm.  
 Obverse, lion rampant l.  
 Reverse, cross of Jerusalem; legend missing.

Grave 7 lies partially under Grave 6, and the head and upper part of the body had been disturbed at that burial; the pelvis remained, and there was a sufficient part of the arms to show that they had been folded upon the breast. The coin was found among the fragments of the pelvis.

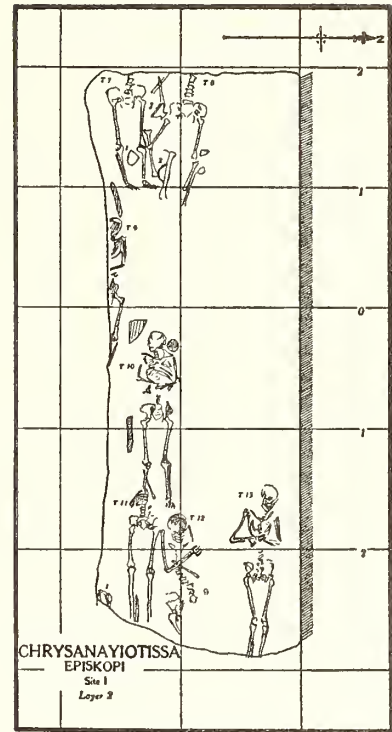
- a) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 7, similar to that of Grave 1; diameter 15.5 cm. (*Fig. 11*).



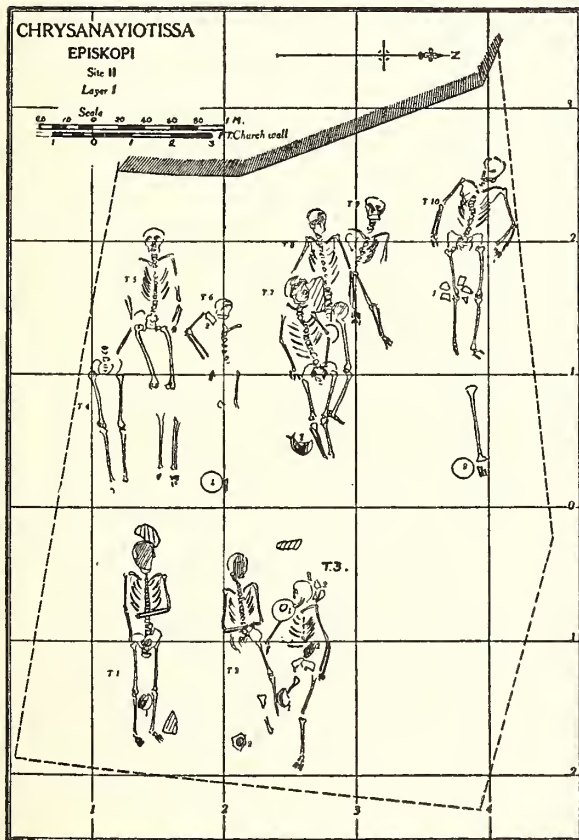
PLAN IIa



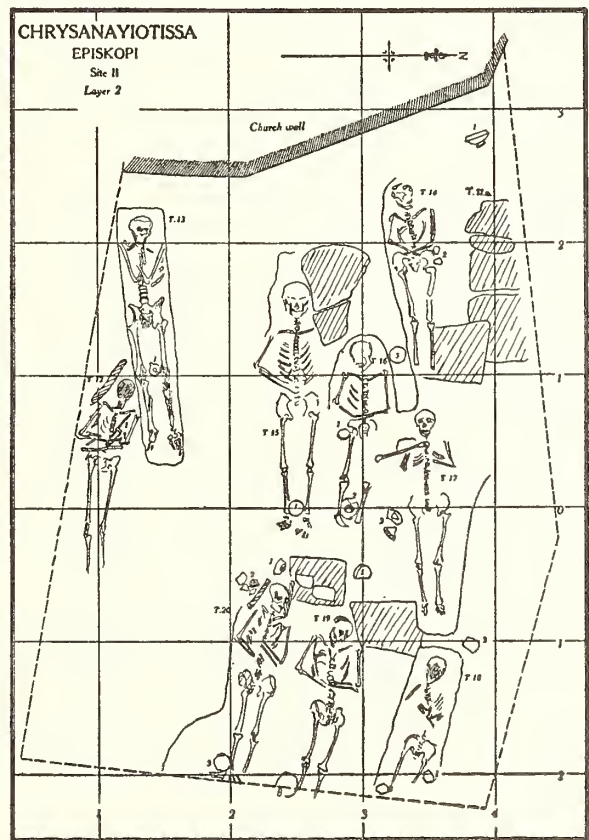
PLAN IIc



PLAN IIb



PLAN IIIa



PLAN IIIb



- b) Bronze denier of Janus, 1398–1432 (Lampros, No. 10); diameter 15 mm.  
Obverse, lion rampant l., + DE CHIPRE D ERI.  
Reverse, cross of Jerusalem, + JANVS ROI DE CH.
- c) Green-painted bowl, Form 25; pinkish clay; white slip inside; yellow glaze; diameter 14.5 cm. (*Fig. 12*).

Grave 14 contained fragments of a child's skeleton, buried in a partly contracted position. Graves 15 and 16 were those of adults in extended position, buried on the earliest foundations. In both, the arms were folded upon the breasts, and the head of the skeleton in Grave 15 was turned slightly to the left.

Grave 15. Two green sgraffito bowls, similar in type to that in Figure 11, lay near the right leg.

- a) Central design 2; diameter 14 cm.
- b) Central design 3; diameter 12 cm.

Only a few shards were found near the foot of Grave 16.

*Layer 3.* Graves 16–18 (*Plan Ib*; *Fig. 5*). These graves consisted of narrow trenches cut in the rock, situated in the bottom of the area enclosed by the south wall. No graves were found in the 60 cm. of earth above this level. The rock-cut graves were covered with large slabs of stone; the trenches were 30 cm. wide and 20 cm. deep. They contained a number of skeletons, placed head to foot, not well preserved, but with sufficient remaining to show that the arms had been folded upon the breasts. Only the rim of a coarse cooking pot was found with them.

The burials appear to represent a series extending over some two centuries, but in placing them in more or less logical groups several points seem to stand out.

The burials in Layer 1 are at a higher level, well above the foundations and in two cases overlaying previous burials; all are in extended positions, with the hands to the sides. Grave 3 is an exception in that it is among the foundations, but it coincides with the other burials in the remaining respects of coin date and burial position. In Layer 2 the graves, in two instances sealed by upper burials, lie among the early foundations and just in the level of red soil. They show in the adult skeletons an extended position with the arms folded upon the breasts. The children's skeletons were too fragmentary to show this position, but as the coins in Graves 1, 2, and 5 are contemporary with those in Grave 7, one may assume that the period is the same.

The graves in Layer 3 are entirely separate, outside the foundations of the earliest church. No conclusive evidence exists with regard to their date, but from their position they are probably contemporary with the first church.

As Layer 2 burials lie in and around the foundations of the first church, they must be contemporary with the second church. The earliest possible date furnished by the coins (James II, 1382–98) would allow for its construction in the latter years of the fourteenth century, this date being also a *terminus ante quem* for the pottery.

The graves of Layer 1 are closely grouped together by the coins, so that they represent burials towards the end of the Venetian occupation of the island, while Layer 2 contains burials during the preceding century.

The last event in the constructional history seems to be represented by the east boundary wall of loose stones, which cuts into Grave 3, and the cross wall over Grave 10. If the evidence of the Turkish coin in Grave 3 can be accepted, this may have been erected in the early seventeenth century, shortly after the Turkish conquest.

In brief the graves and buildings can be ascribed as follows:

Period I. First church. Graves 17-19, Byzantine, circa eleventh-twelfth century.

Period II. Second church. Graves 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 14-16, circa 1390-1550.

Period III. Second church. Graves 3, 6, and 8-13, circa 1554-1571.

Period IV. Rough boundary walls, Turkish, circa 1617.

The distribution of the pottery is shown as follows:

TYPES OF POTTERY	LAYER 1	LAYER 2	SHARDS PER CENT
Brown-and-green sgraffito A	...	...	7.3
Brown-and-green sgraffito B	...	...	
Green sgraffito A	...	...	12.2
Green sgraffito B	4	6	
Green-painted	5	1	12.4
Plain white	2	...	5.8
Green	...	...	3.6
Brown	1	...	0.8
Foreign	...	...	1.8
Coarse red	...	...	56.0

On this site, green sgraffito and green-painted predominate; brown-and-green sgraffito is represented by a small quantity of shards, as are also the foreign wares. The coarse shards constitute more than half the remainder.

#### CHRYSANAYIOTISSA

This church is situated on a ridge to the southwest of the village. It stands just below the brow of the hill, but now only the west end of the barrel vault remains. This church also was depleted to construct the present building.

Two trials were made on this site—one near the center of the north wall and another



around the east end of the apse. Little or no traces of foundation were discovered, and at the apse the lowest course was not more than 30 cm. above the rock.

#### SITE I

A pit, approximately 5 by 1.60 m., was sunk some two meters from the north wall of the church. It was bounded on the north by a well-built terrace wall, similar to that at Ayios Mamas, which enclosed the leveled area around the church.

The excavation was divided into layers by the presence of more or less intact graves, though on this site the skeletons were not nearly so well preserved as at Ayios Mamas. After clearing some 65 cm. of debris from the surface, the graves were reached at a further 85 cm. In this surface layer were many fragments of bone, a number of mixed potsherds, and some bronze objects. These included a small bronze gilt cross, with incised ornament back and front, a gilt-headed nail, a small bronze fitting, and a bronze Byzantine coin of Isaac II, 1185-95.<sup>6</sup>

*Layer 1.* Graves 1-5 (*Plan IIa*). All the skeletons were placed in extended position with the heads to the west and the hands to the sides; the bones were very fragmentary. In Graves 3 and 4, flat stones were placed to support the heads. Graves 1, 3, 4, and 5 were on the same level, but Grave 2 was about 15 cm. deeper. Above it were the disordered remains of a later burial.

Two bowls and a coin were with the skeleton, but from their position it appears that only Bowl 2, found in the left hand, and the bronze hooks and eyes and pin adhering to some cloth on the breast, can belong to this burial. Bowl 1, some 10 cm. above the feet, and the coin just above the skull, are more likely to belong to the grave above.

Grave 1. Green-painted bowl, Form 25; pale pink clay; thick grayish white wash inside; light yellow glaze; diameter 14.5 cm. Similar to Figure 17.

Grave 2. a) Green-painted bowl, Form 9; rough pinkish clay; thick white slip inside and on rim; thin yellow glaze; diameter 12.5 cm.

b) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 15; fine pink clay; thick white slip inside and out; floral design with splashes of blue, emerald-green and madder-brown; clear yellow glaze; diameter 12.5 cm. (*Fig. 15*).

c) Bronze denier of Hieron. Prioli, Doge of Venice, 1559-67 (Lampros, No. 100 [see p. 58]); diameter, 14 mm.

d) Six pairs of bronze hooks and eyes, and four eyes, adhering to some cloth, length 1.4 cm.; a bronze pin, length 2.5 cm.

Grave 3. Plain white bowl, Form 15; bright red gritty clay; covered with thick cream wash inside and out; greenish yellow glaze; diameter 12.5 cm.

*Layer 2.* Graves 7-13 (*Plan IIb*). In the intervening 30 cm. between these graves and the layer above a quantity of broken bones and potsherds and twenty-two bowls were found, unconnected with any grave. With them was a bronze denier, unidentifiable except as belonging to the Lusignan period. The levels of these graves varied slightly. All the skeletons were in extended position, with the hands folded on the breasts. In Graves 9 and 10 some effort had been made to enclose the heads with stones. Only the lower extremities of Graves 7 and 8 were uncovered. Graves 9-12 were some 20 cm. deeper, and the upper part of Grave 11 was destroyed at the burial of Grave 10. Grave 13 was the lowest.

<sup>6</sup> Diameter 2.7 cm. Cf. *Brit. Museum Cat.*, No. 26, p. 593, Pl. LXXII, 5.





FIG. 1—AYIOS MAMAS: FOOTINGS OF APSE OF FIRST CHURCH, GRAVE 14 IN FOREGROUND



FIG. 2—AYIOS MAMAS: GRAVES 6 AND 8-11, SHOWING LAYERS 1 AND 2





FIG. 3—AYIOS MAMAS: GRAVE 3



FIG. 4—AYIOS MAMAS: GRAVES 15 AND 16, IN LAYER 2



FIG. 5—AYIOS MAMAS: GRAVE 17, IN LAYER 3



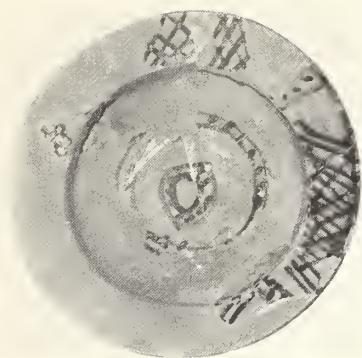


FIG. 6—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL FROM GRAVE 3, 1550-1600 A.D.



FIG. 7—AYIOS MAMAS: BASE OF GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL FROM GRAVE 6



FIG. 8—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL FROM GRAVE 8

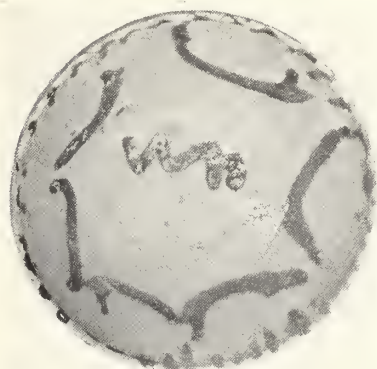


FIG. 9—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL FROM GRAVE 10



FIG. 10—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL FROM GRAVE 2



FIG. 11—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL FROM GRAVE 7 (a)



FIG. 12—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL FROM GRAVE 7 (c)

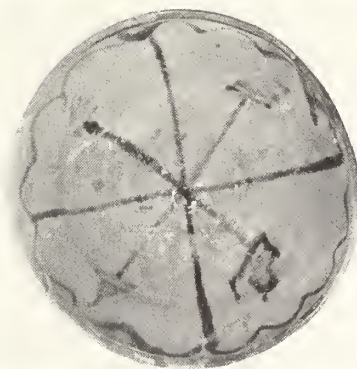


FIG. 13—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL, No. 2.

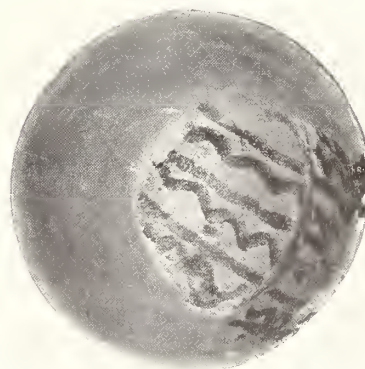


FIG. 14—AYIOS MAMAS: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL, No. 5





FIG. 15—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, GRAVE 2 (*b*)



FIG. 16—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL,  
GRAVE 8 (*a*)

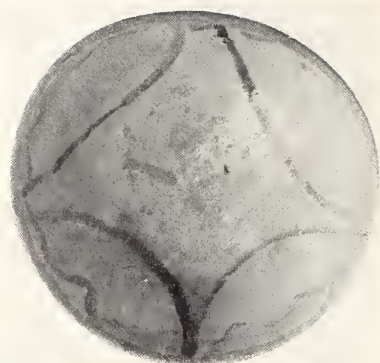


FIG. 17—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
GREEN-PAINTED BOWL (*a*)

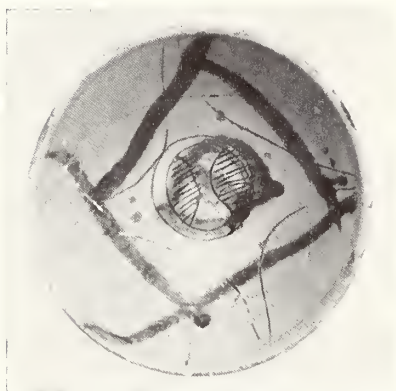


FIG. 18—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL (*g*)



FIG. 19—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, SHARD (*i*)



FIG. 20—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, SHARD (*k*)

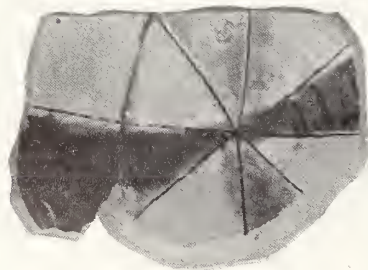


FIG. 21—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BASE OF BROWN-AND-GREEN  
SGRAFFITO BOWL (*l*)

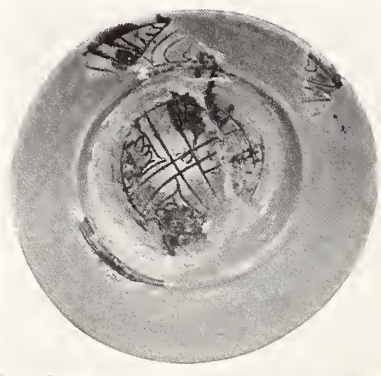


FIG. 22—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL (*v*)

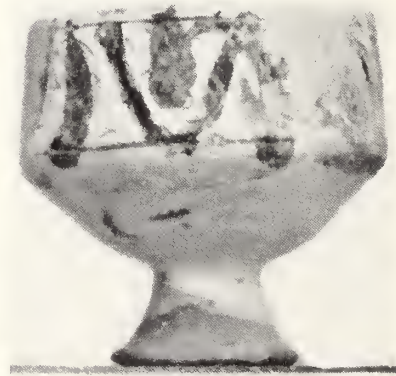


FIG. 23—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I:  
BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, LAYER 2 (*c*)

Grave 7. Base of coarse unglazed bottle.

Grave 8. *a*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 8; pale pink clay; white slip inside and out; pale yellow glaze; diameter 14.5 cm. (*Fig. 16*).

*b*) Plain white bowl, Form 16; buff clay; white slip inside and out; clear glaze; diameter 14.5 cm.

Grave 11. Green-painted bowl, Form 14; pale pink clay; thick white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 13.5 cm.

Other bowls. *a*) Green-painted bowl, Form 10; pale pink clay; white slip inside and on rim; pale yellow glaze; graffiti ΠΥ on base; diameter 15 cm. (*Fig. 17*).

*b*) Green-painted bowl, Form 14; similar to that in Grave 11; diameter 13.5 cm.

*c*) Plain white bowl, Form 19; pale pink clay; white slip inside and out, except on foot; creamy glaze; diameter 13 cm.

*d*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 8; pale pink clay; thick white slip inside and outside rim; pale yellow glaze; center design 5; diameter 14.5 cm.

*e*) Green sgraffito bowl, as (*d*) above; center design 6; diameter 14 cm.

*f*) Plain white bowl, Form 18, as (*c*) above; diameter 13.5 cm.

*g*) Green sgraffito bowl, as (*d*) above; diameter 14 cm. (*Fig. 18*).



*h*) Coarse red-ware bowl, Form 37; rather gritty clay; unglazed; diameter 13.5 cm.

*i*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 34; fine pinkish clay; white slip inside and outside, except on foot; design on both sides; pale yellow glaze; diameter 12 cm. (*Fig. 19*).

*j*) Green sgraffito bowl as (*d*) above; diameter 13.5 cm.

*k*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl (base); Form 5; hard red clay; thick white slip inside; design in dark green and red-brown; pale yellow glaze inside and out; length 15 cm. (*Fig. 20*).

*l*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl (base); Form 26; soft cream clay; white slip inside and out; pale yellow glaze; length 14 cm. (*Fig. 21*).

*m*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 25; pale pink clay; white slip inside and outside rim; pale yellow glaze; graffiti on side  ; diameter 13.6 cm.

*n*) Green-painted bowl, as (*b*) above; diameter 15 cm.

*o*) Green-painted bowl, as (*a*) above; diameter 12.5 cm.

*p*) Brown-glazed bowl, Form 30; fine reddish clay; glazed dark brown inside; diameter 15 cm.

*q*) Green-painted bowl, Form 20, as (*a*) above; diameter 13 cm.

*r*) Part of plain white bowl, as (*c*) above.

*s*) Part of plain white bowl, as (*r*) above.

*t*) Plain white bowl, Form 11; thin red clay, as (*c*) above; clear glaze; diameter 13 cm.

*u*) Part of green-painted bowl, Form 19; pink clay; white slip inside and out; light green glaze (*Fig. 17*).

*v*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 2; buff clay; white slip inside and out; clear glaze; diameter 18 cm. (*Fig. 22*).

*Layer 3.* Grave 14 (*Plan IIc; Fig. 24*). This layer had only one grave, cut in the rock, but in the 30 cm. of earth above it two coins and one bowl were found. The grave was a narrow trench, tapering towards the foot, about 25 cm. deep (length 2.20 m., width at head 50 cm.). The burial was similar to the others, with the hands folded upon the breast. A long blue glass bottle (length 16 cm.) with biconal body and tubular neck was laid upon the right shoulder, while on the breastbone was a circular bronze brooch with flat pin (diameter 3 cm., *Fig. 25*).



## Other finds:

- a) Bronze denier of Janus, 1398-1432 (Lampros, Nos. 67-69); diameter 15 mm.  
Obverse, lion rampant l.  
Reverse, cross.
- b) Bronze coin, type of Janus, or Peter I or II, circa 1350 (Lampros, p. 43);  
Obverse, illegible  
Reverse, cross.
- c) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 34; buff clay; white slip inside and out; clear glaze almost worn away; diameter 9.5 cm. (*Fig. 23*).

The upper Layer 1 on this site seems to coincide closely in date and in pottery with the material from Ayios Mamas. The burials are made in the same positions as in the upper layer, and the coins are the same.

In Layer 2, also, the burials are similar to those in Layer 2 at Ayios Mamas, and the coins are of corresponding dates.

The grave of Layer 3 is not dated, but the type of glass found therein may be found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From the coins found above, this layer must be earlier than 1350.

The following relative dating for the layers is therefore suggested:

Layer 1, 1550-1571;

Layer 2, 1450-1550 (including Grave 2);

Layer 3, twelfth century-1450.

The pottery was distributed as follows:

TYPES OF POTTERY	LAYER 1	LAYER 2	SHARDS PER CENT	LAYER 3	SHARDS PER CENT
Brown-and-green sgraffito A	...	1	13.5		17.5
Brown-and-green sgraffito B	1	3		1	
Green sgraffito A	...		7.6		4.0
Green sgraffito B	...	6			
Green-painted	2	5	9.0	...	4.5
Plain white	1	6	10.2	...	5.0
Green	...	...	2.5	...	...
Brown	...	1	1.9	...	5.6
Foreign	...	...	6.4	...	1.6
Coarse red	...	1	49.0	...	61.8

We find an increased quantity of brown-and-green wares on this site, with a corresponding decrease of green sgraffito and green-painted wares, as compared with Ayios Mamas. The proportion of foreign wares is also increased, though the types are the same.

SITE II

In this trial to the east of the apse, the layers were not so easily distinguished, owing to the nearness of the rock, and the burials were closer together and more disturbed. The greatest depth was 1.50 m., at the northeast corner.

*Layer 1.* Graves 1-10 (*Plan IIIa; Fig. 30*). The most recent burials appear to be Graves 4-10 near the apse. They were not more than 20 cm. below the surface. All the skeletons were in extended position, with hands to the sides and the heads to the west. The bones were rather disturbed, but in better condition than those in Site I. The bowls were almost always placed near the hands or feet.

Grave 6 contained a rather small skeleton, probably that of a young person. Graves 7, 8, and 9 overlaid each other; a stone supported the head of the skeleton in Grave 7, and beneath was the bowl in the left hand of that in Grave 8. Only the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 9 remained, the lower extremities having been displaced by later burials; the right arm lay a little apart. At the foot of Grave 10 was an odd tibia and a bowl; these were the only remains of another burial.

Grave 6. *a*) Green-painted bowl, Form 9; buff clay; white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 13.5 cm.

*b*) Green sgraffito bowl (base), Form 8; coarse pink clay; white slip inside; light yellow glaze; center design 7.

Grave 7. Green-painted bowl, Form 16; pinkish buff clay; white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 17 cm. approximately (*Fig. 26*).

Grave 8. Green sgraffito dish, Form 4; pinkish clay; white slip inside; bright yellow glaze; diameter 21 cm. (*Fig. 27*).

Grave 10. *a*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 10; pink clay; white slip inside; bright yellow glaze; diameter 15.5 cm. (*Fig. 28*).

*b*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 12, as above; diameter 14.5 cm. (*Fig. 29*).

Graves 1-3 (*Fig. 30*) are some 15-20 cm. deeper than Graves 4-10. The skeleton in Grave 1 had the left arm folded upon the breast, and Grave 2 had both arms so placed. The latter also partially overlaid Grave 3. The skeleton in Grave 3 lay on the right side with both arms to the sides. The bowls lay near the feet of the skeletons in Graves 1 and 2, and on the right shoulder and body of that in Grave 3.

Grave 1. Plain white bowl, Form 19; pink clay; white slip inside and outside rim; pale yellow glaze; diameter 15 cm.

Grave 2. *a*) Green-painted bowl, Form 25; buff clay; white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 16 cm. (*Fig. 31*).

*b*) Green sgraffito bowl (base), Form 7; buff clay; white slip inside and out, except on foot; pale yellow glaze; center design 8.

Grave 3. *a*) Brown-and-green sgraffito dish, Form 3; pink clay; white slip inside and out; yellow glaze; diameter 20 cm. (*Fig. 32*).

*b*) Plain white bowl; Form 19, as in Grave 1; diameter 13 cm.



*Layer 2 (Plan IIIb; Fig. 35).* In this layer the burials were placed just upon the rock, or in narrow rock-cut graves, in two cases covered with large slabs, as at Ayios Mamas. In the intervening 30 cm. between the two layers, a number of potsherds were found, from which thirteen bowls were reconstructed.

Graves 12 and 15-20 lay upon the rock, or on a thin layer of earth just above it. All the skeletons were in extended position, with the arms folded upon the breasts. Some of the bones were somewhat displaced, but on the whole the skeletons were well preserved. In almost every case blocks of stone or slabs had been used to enclose the heads. The bowl (*a*) in Grave 14, and the bowls in Graves 17 and 20 were not very close to the skeletons, and one cannot say with certainty that they belong to those burials.

- Grave 12. The skeleton clasped an iron implement upon the breast. It had a long prong and a double handle. It was possibly a taper holder, for the prong had no edge; length 26.5 cm. (*Fig. 36*).
- Grave 14. *a*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 7; buff clay; white slip inside; pale green glaze; diameter 14 cm.  
*b*) Part of brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 34; pinkish clay; white slip inside and out; pale yellow glaze; height 11 cm.  
*c*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 8; pink clay; white slip inside and outside rim; pale green glaze; diameter 14.5 cm.
- Grave 15. Green-painted bowl, Form 9; light red clay; white slip inside; pale yellow glaze; diameter 14 cm. (*Fig. 37*).
- Grave 16. *a*) Plain white bowl, Form 19; pink clay; white slip inside and outside rim; pale yellow glaze; 4 incised strokes outside; diameter 12.5 cm.  
*b*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 21; pink clay; white slip inside and out, except on foot; pale yellow glaze; diameter 15 cm. (*Fig. 38*).
- Grave 17. *a*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 27; buff clay; white slip; light yellow glaze, fired brown on outside; diameter 16 cm. (*Fig. 39*).  
*b*) Plain white bowl, Form 31, as in Grave 1; diameter 14 cm.  
*c*) Plain white bowl, Form 19, as (*b*); diameter 12.5 cm.
- Grave 18. *a*) Plain white bowl, Form 18, as (*b*) and (*c*) above; diameter 14 cm.  
*b*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 35; pink clay; white slip inside and out; clear glaze; diameter 13.5 cm. (*Fig. 40*).
- Grave 20. *a*) Green-painted bowl, Form 8; diameter 14 cm.; similar to Figure 17.  
*b*) Brown-and-green sgraffito bowl, Form 36; pink clay; thin white slip inside and out; light yellow glaze; diameter 12.5 cm. (*Fig. 41*).  
*c*) Plain white bowl, as in Grave 16 (*a*); diameter 15 cm.

Other bowls:

- a*) Rim of green-painted bowl, Form 25; creamy pink clay; white slip inside; pale green glaze.
- b*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 8; pink clay; white slip inside and out, except on foot; pale yellow glaze; diameter 14 cm. (*Fig. 33*).
- c*) Green sgraffito bowl, Form 6; soft pink clay; white slip inside; yellow glaze; diameter 18 cm. (*Fig. 34*).
- d*) Plain white bowl, Form 19, as in Grave 16 (*a*); diameter 14.5 cm.
- e*) Plain white bowl as above, diameter 13 cm.

- f) Plain yellow dish, Form 22; light red clay; white slip inside covered with yellow glaze; diameter 14.5 cm.
- g) Green-painted bowl, Form 29; light red clay; white slip inside, with dashes of green and yellow on rim; pale yellow glaze; diameter 13.5 cm.
- h) Fragments of green-painted bowl; Form 9, as in Grave 6 (a).
- i) Green-painted bowl, Form 32; pink clay; white slip inside and out, except on base; pale yellow glaze; diameter 13.5 cm.
- j) Plain white bowl, Form 18, as (d); diameter 12.5 cm.
- k) Green sgraffito bowl (base); pink clay; white slip; pale yellow glaze.
- l) Slip-painted bowl, Form 33; red gritty clay; dark green glaze; diameter 17 cm. (*Fig. 39*).
- m) Plain white bowl, Form 14, as (d).

Grave 13 is a narrow rock-cut trench, 1.90 m. long, 35 cm. wide, and approximately 20 cm. deep. The skeleton lay in an extended position, with the hands covering the face. A lamp was placed between the knees.

Coarse red-ware lamp of shell type with flat base; covered central container with handle to rim; chocolate glaze inside; diameter 7.5 cm. (*Fig. 42*).

Graves 11 and 11a were also narrow trenches, covered with slabs of stone. The skeletons were completely destroyed and nothing was found in the graves.

Though this site produced no coins or other certain evidence of date, I am inclined to place it, on stylistic grounds and in forms of disposition, as the earliest in the group.

Graves 4-10, beside the fact that they form the upper layer of burials with hands to the sides, fall also into a pottery group of their own. Beside one or two specimens of green-painted and green sgraffito ware, a particular form of green sgraffito with bright yellow glaze is found, which is not represented in any other site. From external evidence these may be placed not earlier than 1450 (see p. 85). The remainder of the graves in this layer form a consistent group both in type of burial and in form of pottery, of which Graves 1-3 are the earliest.

From the evidence of Site 1, where Grave 14 is situated in a rock-cut trench, we may assume that Graves 12-20, some of which are rock cut, must be contemporary, i.e., from the twelfth century onward. The burials also are placed with the arms folded, a position found on Site I to date earlier than 1500.

The dating of this layer cannot be exact, but the following is suggested:

Layer 1. Graves 1-10. Fifteenth century.

Layer 2. Graves 11-20. Twelfth-fifteenth centuries.

The Italian jug (*Fig. 42*) was reconstructed from shards found on this site. The type was not found on either of the other sites. The Samarra-type bowl, Form 38, also came from among the brown-green sgraffito shards.

The general proportions of pottery are here similar to those of Site I, but there is an increased quantity of brown and green shards of the early varieties—elaborate incised ware and slip-painted ware.



The disposition of the pottery is shown as follows:

TYPES OF POTTERY	LAYER I	LAYER II	SHARDS PER CENT
Brown-and-green sgraffito A	...	2	23.3
Brown-and-green sgraffito B	1	3	
Green sgraffito A	3	...	6.7
Green sgraffito B	2	6	
Green-painted	3	5	4.3
Plain white	2	9	22.0
Green	...	...	5.8
Brown	...	2	1.1
Foreign	...	...	12.8
Coarse red	...	...	25.2

### SUMMARY OF POTTERY

The pottery found on these sites can be classified in certain specific groups, some of which are represented by shards only, as is shown in the foregoing analyses. In the following pages these will be described and their general connections noted. The principal groups are as follows:

1. Sgraffito wares, (*a*) brown-and-green and (*b*) green
2. Green-painted ware
3. Plain glazed wares
4. Foreign wares
5. Coarse unglazed wares, red and white

#### I. SGRAFFITO WARES

This group is the best known of Byzantine wares, and Cypriot pieces are numerous among museum specimens. These are usually to be recognized by their tall form and their niggling, often meaningless, designs. The type, however, is found all over the Near East, and the varieties have been classified under many heads. Here it has been found convenient to place them in two groups: (*a*) that characterized by brown-and-green glaze decoration; (*b*) that characterized by designs executed in green glaze only.



FIG. 24—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I: GRAVE 14 IN LAYER 3



FIG. 25—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE I: GLASS BOTTLE AND BRONZE BROOCH FROM GRAVE 14



FIG. 26—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL FROM GRAVE 7

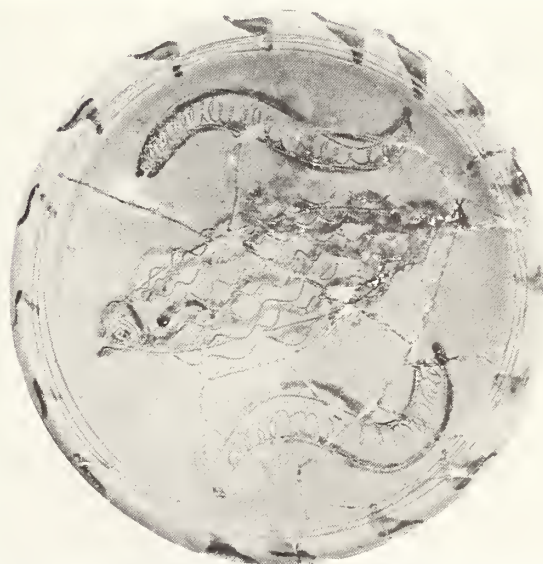


FIG. 27—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL FROM GRAVE 8



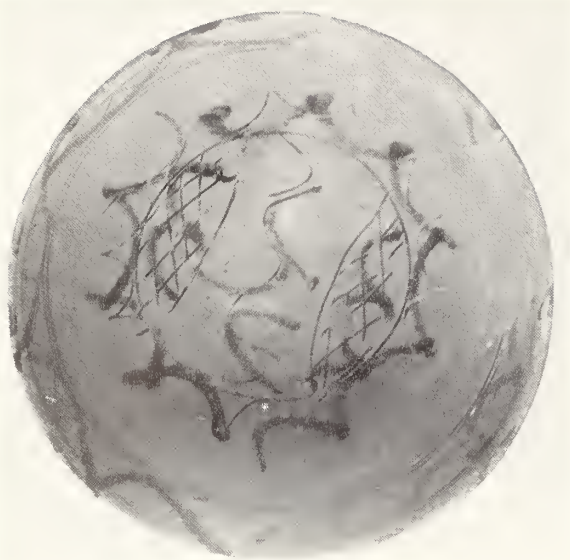


FIG. 28—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, GRAVE 10 (a)

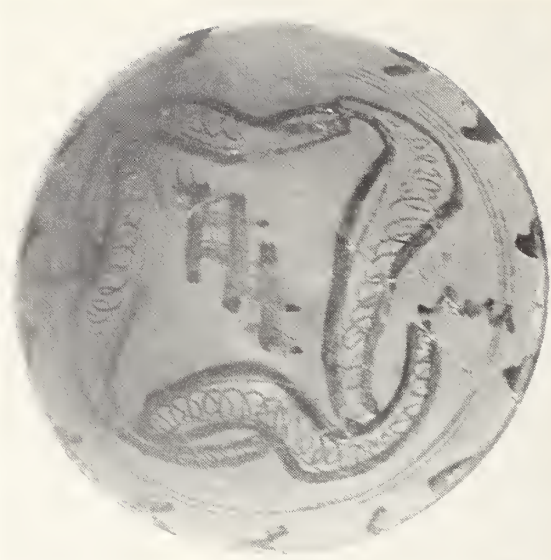


FIG. 29—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO  
BOWL, GRAVE 10 (b)



FIG. 30—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GRAVES 1-3

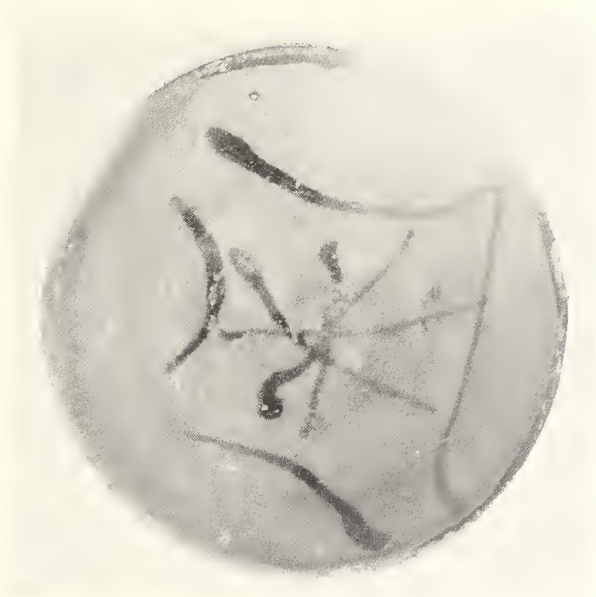


FIG. 31—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL, GRAVE 2 (a)

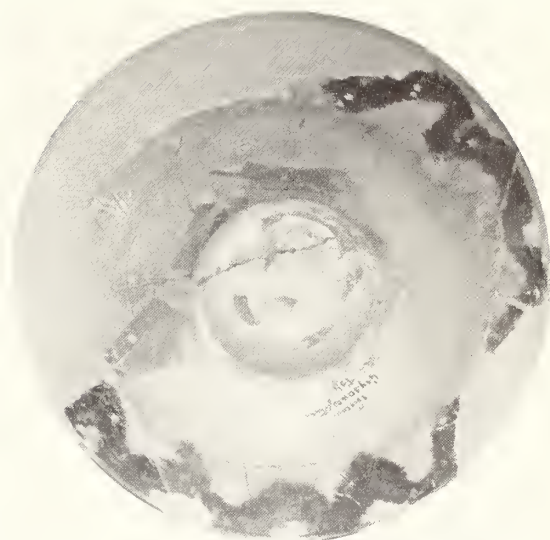


FIG. 32—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL, GRAVE 3 (a)



FIG. 33—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL (b)

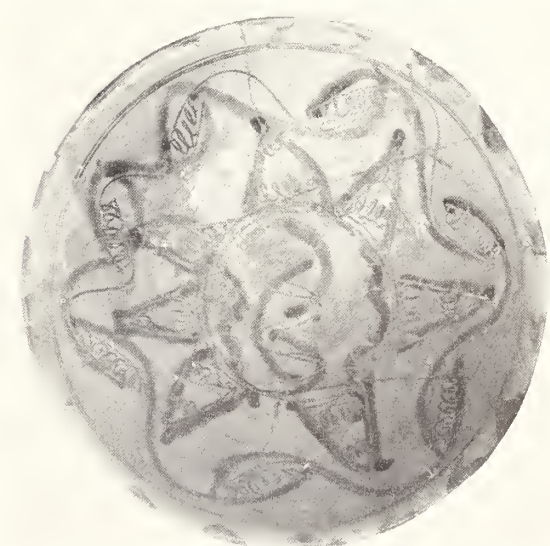


FIG. 34—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL (c)





FIG. 35—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GRAVES 18-20



FIG. 36—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: IRON PRONG FROM GRAVE 12.  
LAMP FROM GRAVE 13



FIG. 37—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN-PAINTED BOWL, GRAVE 15



FIG. 38—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL, GRAVE 16 (*b*)



FIG. 39—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: SLIP-PAINTED BOWL, GRAVE 17 (*a*)



FIG. 40—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO BOWL, GRAVE 18 (*b*)





FIG. 41—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: BROWN-AND-GREEN  
SGRAFFITO BOWL, GRAVE 20 (*b*)



FIG. 42—CHRYSANAYIOTISSA, SITE II: ITALIAN JUG  
FROM LAYER 2

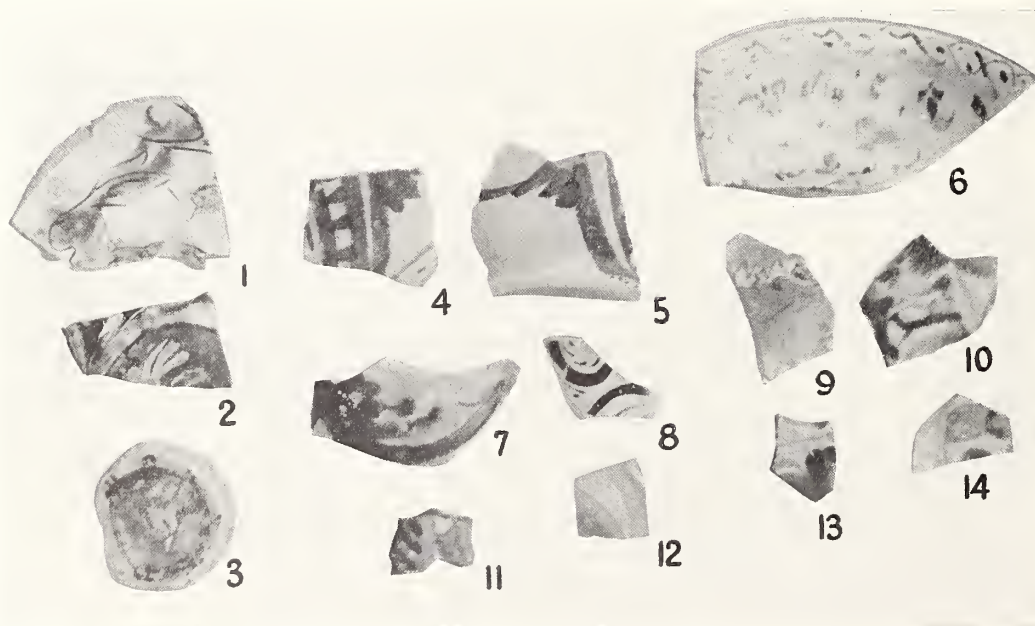


FIG. 43—ITALIAN AND OTHER FOREIGN SHARDS

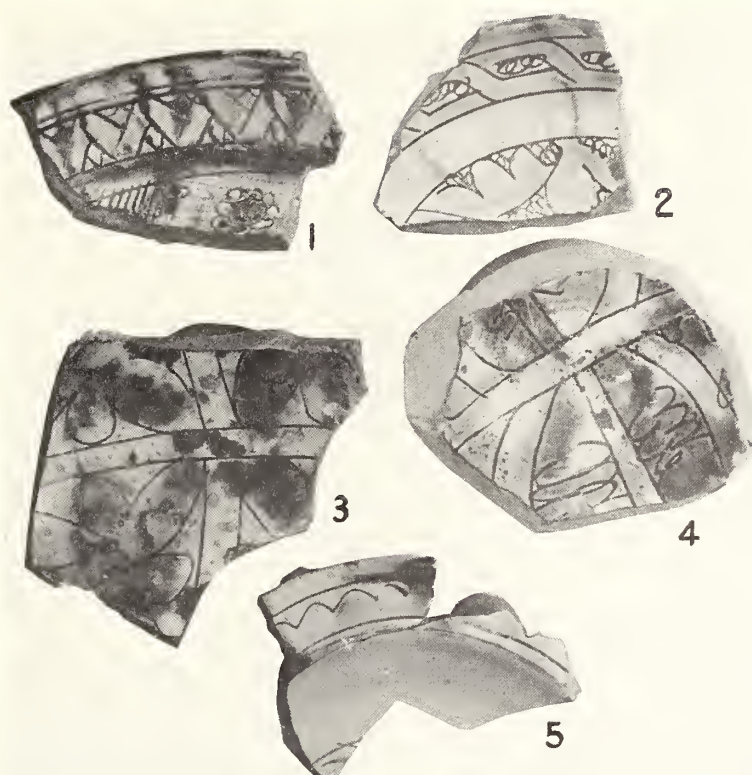


FIG. 44—BROWN-AND-GREEN SGRAFFITO SHARDS

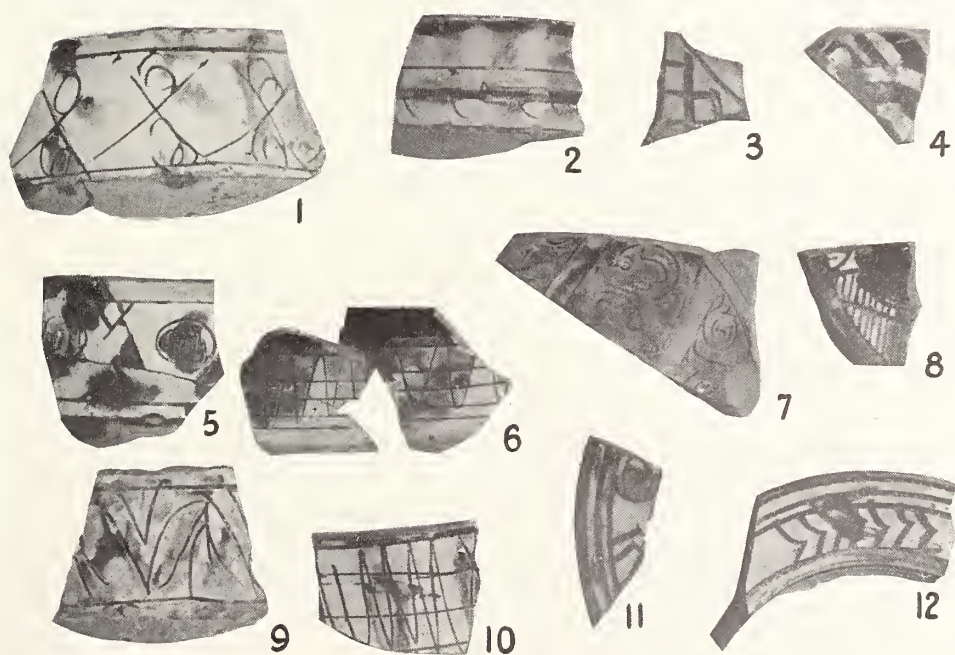
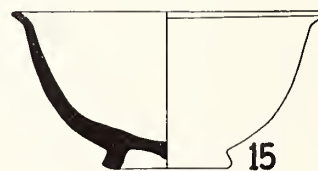
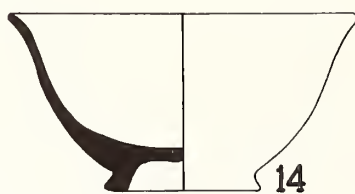
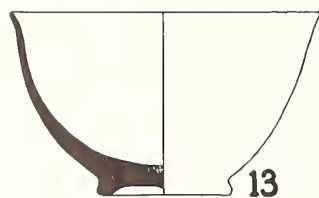
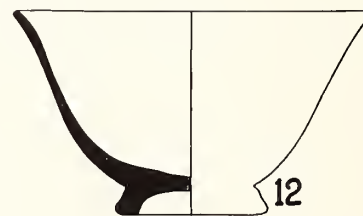
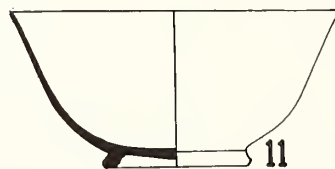
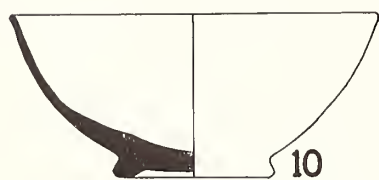
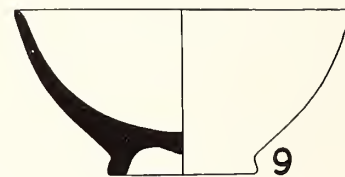
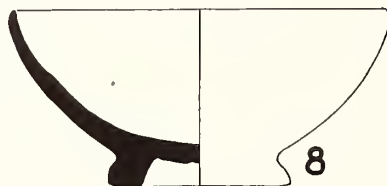
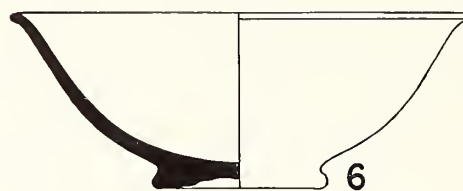
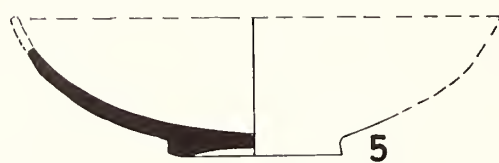


FIG. 45—SGRAFFITO SHARDS





FORMS OF POTTERY

a) *Brown-and-green*. This group is represented by a large number of shards and several bowls. Among these subtypes are distinguished, corresponding to known varieties of the ware:

(1) A bright brick-red pottery, turning to gray, sometimes covered with a wash of its own clay. For the most part the inside of the bowls is covered with a white slip on which the design is carried out. The whole bowl has a yellow or greenish glaze, which turns to dark yellow or chocolate brown where it overlies the body on the outside.

The most usual Forms are 27, 37, and occasionally 30, sometimes with rounded instead of angular sides.

The varieties of decoration are numerous. The true sgraffito design used to outline figures (*Fig. 39*) and geometric patterns (*Fig. 45, No. 8*) is most commonly found in museum specimens attributed to Cyprus. A bowl in the British Museum collection,<sup>7</sup> though not found in Cyprus, is very similar in technique. The designs on some of the shards (*Fig. 44, Nos. 1, 3, and 4*) are coarser and more decadent and may be compared with those found in the agora at Athens, and called by Waagé "Turkish sgraffito."<sup>8</sup> Figure 44, No. 2, can be compared to the "areal" designs from the same site.<sup>9</sup>

The flat-bottomed bowl, Form 38, is decorated with faint sgraffito lines and rather dribbled colors, a technique closely connected with some of the Samarra wares.<sup>10</sup> It can also be compared with a fragment from Athens.<sup>11</sup>

Another shard (*Fig. 20*) belongs to a type of pottery usually decorated in marbled technique—in this case it is almost identical with a shard from the Athenian agora.<sup>12</sup>

A variant of sgraffito design is illustrated by two shards (*Fig. 45, Nos. 3, 11, and 12*) in which the lines are made with broad- and narrow-pointed instruments, giving the motif the appearance of relief. Examples of this work, sometimes called "elaborate-incised ware"<sup>13</sup> or "champlevé,"<sup>14</sup> are usually well executed, but the Cypriot specimens are rather poor.<sup>15</sup>

The last type which may be included in this group is the *slip-painted* ware (*Figs. 43 and 45, No. 4*). A fine specimen from Claudia, Cyprus, is exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and many fragments were found at Athlit<sup>16</sup> and in the agora at Athens.<sup>17</sup>

These sgraffito wares spread over some two centuries, but on one or two sites can be dated approximately. Waagé attributes much of the late sgraffito wares to Turkish times, i.e., to the

<sup>7</sup> R. L. Hobson, *Guide to Islamic Pottery* (London, 1932), Fig. 39.

<sup>8</sup> F. Waagé, "Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia*, III (1934), No. 2, 310, Fig. 14, thirteenth century; also Corinth in "Middle Byzantine Pottery from Excavations at Corinth," *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXIX (1935), Pt. 1, 115; and C. Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932-3) . . .," *Palestine Dept. Antiquities Quart.*, V (1935), 48, Fig. 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Brit. Mus. Coll.

<sup>11</sup> Waagé, *op. cit.*, Fig. 16a.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 16h., Turkish sgraffito.

<sup>13</sup> Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford, 1930), Pl. 1.

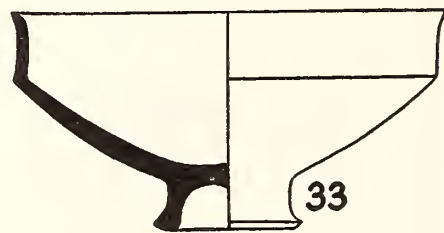
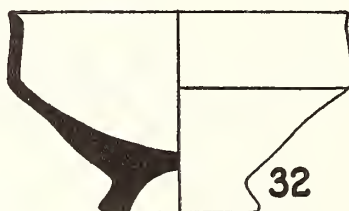
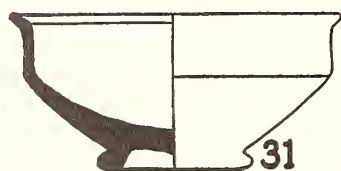
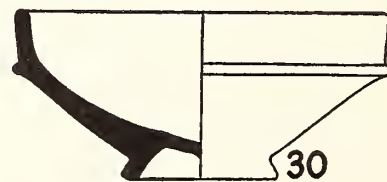
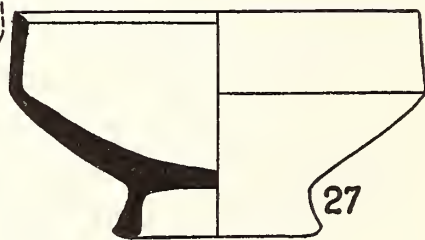
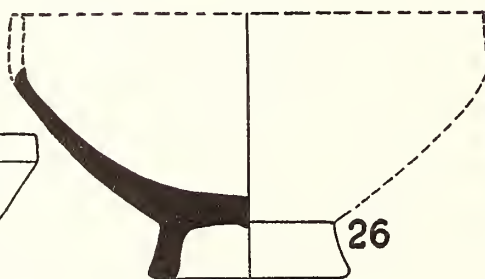
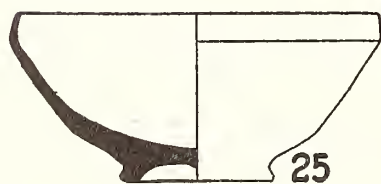
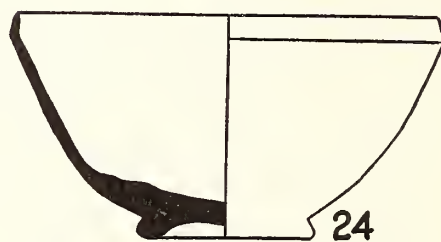
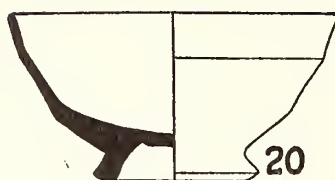
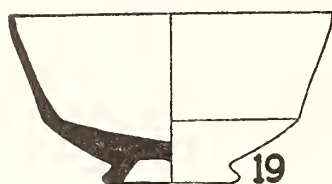
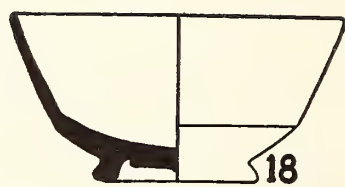
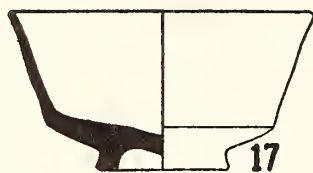
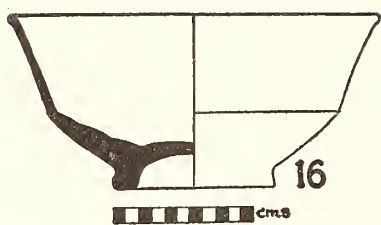
<sup>14</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Cyprus Dept. of Antiquities Rept.*, 1934, Pl. X, Figs. 3 and 4. See also R. M. Dawkins and J. P. Droop, "Byzantine Pottery from Sparta," *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, XVII (1910-11), Pl. XV, Nos. 41, 42, 49. These are said to be earlier than fourteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> C. Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932) . . .," *Palestine Dept. Antiquities Quart.*, III (1934), No. 3, Pl. LVII, Fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Waagé, *op. cit.*, p. 323.



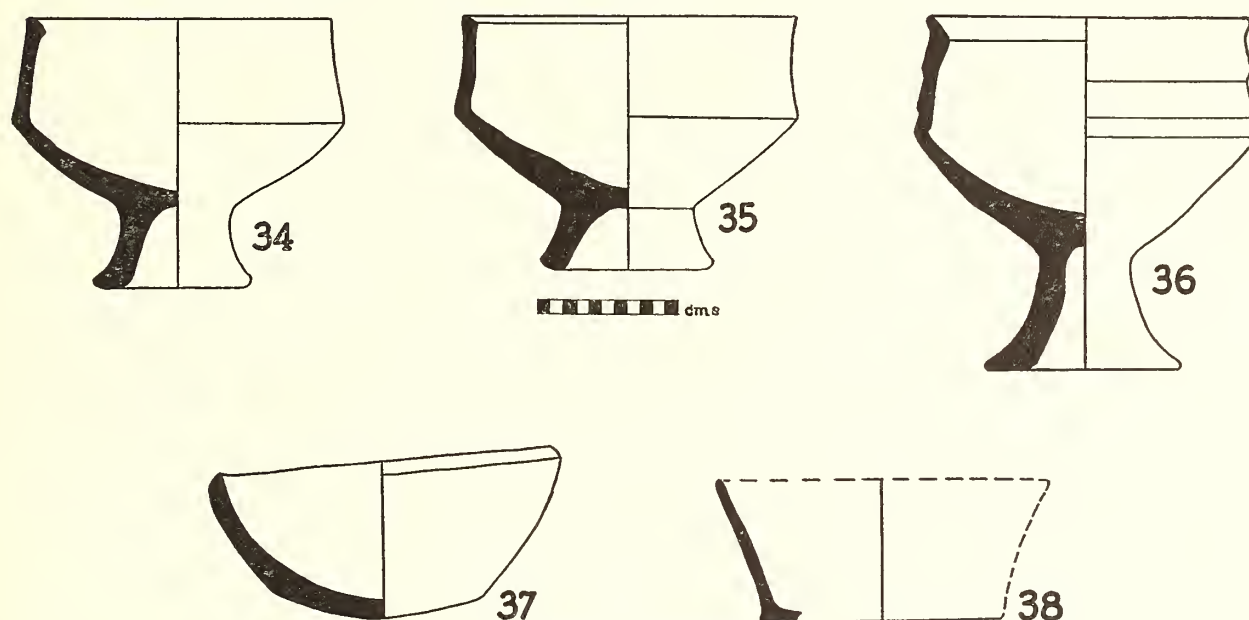


FORMS OF POTTERY

end of the thirteenth century, but shows a continuity in the areal and other designs of the preceding centuries. Corresponding to these, similar wares excavated at Athlit Castle are proved to be not later than thirteenth century, as the castle was abandoned in 1291.

For the earlier types, the early sgraffito and elaborate-incised wares are found together at Corinth.<sup>18</sup> Glass was also present, and the group appeared to belong to the twelfth century. The Samarra bowl type is also eleventh–twelfth century.

The above notes give a range of date which is fairly consistent with the excavated material, covering the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.



FORMS OF POTTERY

(2) The second group has a light buff to gray clay, almost always slipped with white both inside and out—sometimes the outside is molded, and the bowls are generally better finished than those in the last group. The shapes are almost exclusively Forms 26, 34, 35, and 36, while Form 2 is rare. The glaze covers the slip and is usually very light in color. The designs have for the most part become decadent or meaningless and are usually described as late sgraffito.<sup>19</sup> The earliest is perhaps Figure 24, which can be compared with a dish from Athlit,<sup>20</sup> though the work is not so good.

Among the beakers (*Figs. 21, 26, and 44*), some of the designs follow the early sgraffito.<sup>21</sup> A unique specimen in the Cyprus Museum collection (*Figs. 18 and 43, No. 1*) is closely allied to this style; the occurrence of blue and emerald green in the glaze is rare, and it is possible that this bowl is connected with the Italian sgraffito.

The remainder of the shards can best be compared with types of Turkish sgraffito<sup>22</sup> (*Figs. 23, 35, 44, No. 5, and 45, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, and 10*). This group appears to be a development of the former types during the fourteenth century.

<sup>18</sup> C. H. Morgan, II, "Several Vases from a Byzantine Dump at Corinth," *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXIX (1935), Pt. 1, 76.

<sup>19</sup> Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Johns, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIV, Fig. 1, thirteenth century.

<sup>21</sup> Waagé, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9e.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318, Figs. 14–16; and Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Athlit (1932–3) . . .," Pl. XXVII.



*b) Green.* Two subtypes are represented:

(1) Soft buff clay, slipped on the inside only, and glazed bright yellow. The shapes are Forms 4, 6, 10, and 12. The designs (*Figs. 28, 29, 34*) show a marked, though ill-copied, resemblance to the Persian bowls from Rhages and Zendgian, exhibited in the British and Victoria and Albert Museums.<sup>23</sup> Figure 28, however, is almost identical with the base of a bowl from Cilicia,<sup>24</sup> and it is possible that there is a link here with oriental pottery. The fish, on the other hand, resembles some of the early sgraffito animals.<sup>25</sup>

(2) This pottery is similar to the brown-and-green ware in clay, slip, and glaze. The chief difference lies in the shapes (*Forms 7, 8, 21, 25, and 28*). The bowls (*Figs. 7, 10, 33, and 38*) seem to be transitional from the brown-and-green, but the most usual Forms, 7 and 8, have a common design—the concave-sided square with varied central badges (*Figs. 11, 16, and 18*). This design seems to have been carried on in the green-painted group, until all definite pattern dies out. This group seems not to be represented outside Cyprus, and is dated by the excavated material to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

## 2. GREEN-PAINTED WARE

This pottery is similar to the green sgraffito, but the glaze and slip are generally rather poor. The Forms are 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 25, and 29. The painted decoration is very rough, and a few shards are painted with manganese instead of green. The bowl in Figure 26 shows a conventional likeness in form and decoration to a bowl from Samarra.<sup>26</sup> It is an isolated specimen which should be placed with Group (*b, 1*) in date and origin. This ware is most prolific in the later levels, especially at Ayios Mamas, and seems to belong to the late fifteenth–sixteenth centuries.

## 3. PLAIN GLAZED WARES

*a) White.* The pottery is similar to the brown-and-green sgraffito (2). The Forms are 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, and 31. The ware is found in all the layers, but chiefly in conjunction with the brown-and-green sgraffito ware.

*b) Brown.* The clay is usually red with yellow or chocolate glaze inside; occasionally a thin white slip is applied first (*Form 22*). The lamp (*Fig. 36*) is similar to one found at Athlit<sup>27</sup> and belongs probably to the thirteenth century.

*c) Green.* Shards only were found of this ware, with a poor lead glaze. Rims with wide flanges and parts of deep bowls were found.

<sup>23</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 35 (tenth–twelfth centuries), *Cyprus Dept. of Antiquities Rept.*, 1934, Pl. XII, Fig. 1.

<sup>24</sup> E. Herzfeld and S. Geiger, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchester, 1930), II, p. 197, Pl. 206.

<sup>25</sup> Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, Pl. 13. He notes the decora-

tion is sometimes enriched with green glaze.

<sup>26</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 13, ninth century.

<sup>27</sup> Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Athlit 1932) . . .," Pl. LVII, Fig. 1c.

#### 4. FOREIGN WARES

These are represented by shards only. The majority had a dark cream body with gray- or lavender-blue glaze and no slip. The decoration was carried out in a darker blue with high lights picked out in white. Dashes of green and orange-brown were also used. The shapes were chiefly plates, shallow bowls, and vases with ring bases (*Fig. 43, Nos. 9-14.*)

This pottery closely resembles the Venetian majolicas of the early sixteenth century,<sup>28</sup> but is rather coarse. The fine floral design (*Fig. 43, No. 6*) is more like some of the Turkish ware of the same date.

Another type of shard has a coarse pinkish body overlaid with a thick white glaze, dribbled at the edges. Dark blue, with occasional touches of green and red-brown, is used as decoration in bold strokes and vague floral filling. In some, the glaze has a bluish tinge. The shapes are chiefly globular with flat, unglazed bases (*Fig. 43, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8*).

Mr. R. L. Hobson thinks these are a fifteenth-sixteenth century Italian ware, but they resemble also shards from Ephesus and Kutāhiya.<sup>29</sup> The reconstructed vase (*Fig. 42*) and the shard (*Fig. 43, No. 2*), which has a brick-red body with no white wash, are almost identical with shards excavated at Bologna, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. They are said to be Bologna ware of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> A single shard (*Fig. 43, No. 3*) represents the blue siliceous-glazed ware with sandy body usually attributed to Damascus or Rakka.

These wares probably represent the pottery generally imported during the Italian occupation of Cyprus.

#### 5. COARSE WARE

This brick-red ware, hard and rather gritty in texture, is similar to pottery now made in Korno, Galata, and other hill villages of Cyprus, and is still extensively used by the peasants. The shapes are bowls (*Form 37*), jugs, and amphorae with roulette pattern on neck and body. The ware was most plentiful in the upper layers. A negligible quantity of coarse white pottery was also found.

#### 6. GLASS

The glass cannot be dated with certainty, but it was found with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery at Athlit<sup>31</sup> recently, and also at Corinth with thirteenth-century wares.<sup>32</sup>

The results of these trials were not so definite as could be wished—coins were scarce except at Ayios Mamas, and the separation of layers by undisturbed graves was, of necessity, inexact. One or two points, however, may be noted as a result.

<sup>28</sup> B. Rackham, *Guide to Italian Maiolica* (London, 1933), pp. 70, 73.

<sup>29</sup> Hobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81. J. T. Woods excavation, p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> Rackham, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>31</sup> Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Athlit (1932-3) . . .," p. 52.

<sup>32</sup> Waagé, *op. cit.*, p. 115.



On all the sites, there seems to be a marked change from burials with the arms folded to burials with the arms to the sides. The reason for this change of custom is not yet evident, but it seems to take place during the fifteenth century and to accompany the disappearance of the brown-and-green sgraffito pottery.

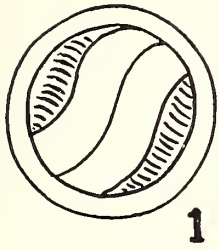
With regard to the pottery, the excavation shows the general trend of development in Cyprus in the medieval period and the sequence of two types—the green sgraffito and green-painted can clearly be followed. The former seems to be evolved from the brown-and-green sgraffito and in the fifteenth century succeeds it. The green-painted ware in the same way imitates the green sgraffito, so that in the sixteenth century, we have no brown-and-green sgraffito, and only these two decadent types, as exemplified at Ayios Mamas.

The last point is the sign of definite oriental influence, exhibited in one or two of the earlier fragments—the green sgraffito (page 83, *b*, 1), with its close resemblance to the Rhages wares (more emphasized in another bowl in the Museum collection) has also been found in Egypt and Palestine, but its provenance there is not authenticated. It may, however, be suggested that this type of pottery had penetrated to the west during the Mameluke invasions in the fifteenth century.

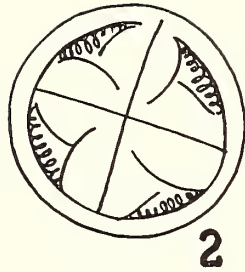
The other type to be noted is the brown-and-green sgraffito ware which is very similar to the eleventh-century wares from Samarra; the resemblance is so close that one would suggest it was an importation, though it is earlier in date than much of the other pottery found here.

NOTE. Though it is some two years since the above was written, and not a little has been published on medieval wares in the interval, the dating of the material has

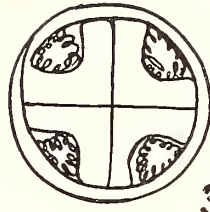
not been altered in any essential, though some of the connections with other countries may need confirmation.



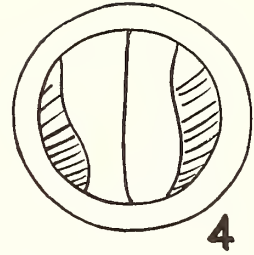
1



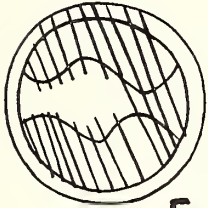
2



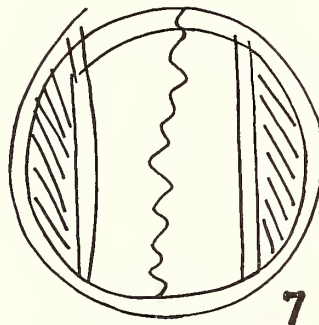
3



4



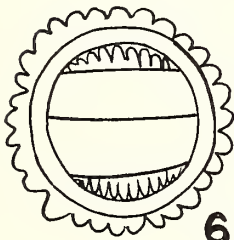
5



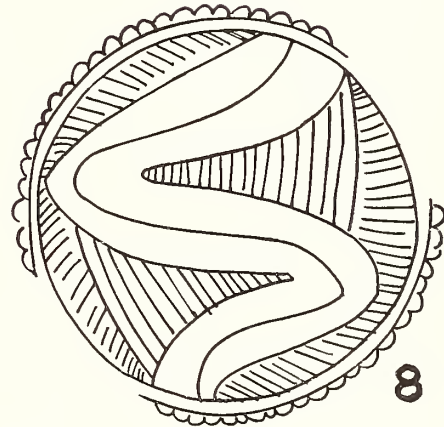
7



cms



6



8

GREEN SGRAFFITO DESIGNS





FIG. 1—FOLIO 2 RECTO, I VERSO

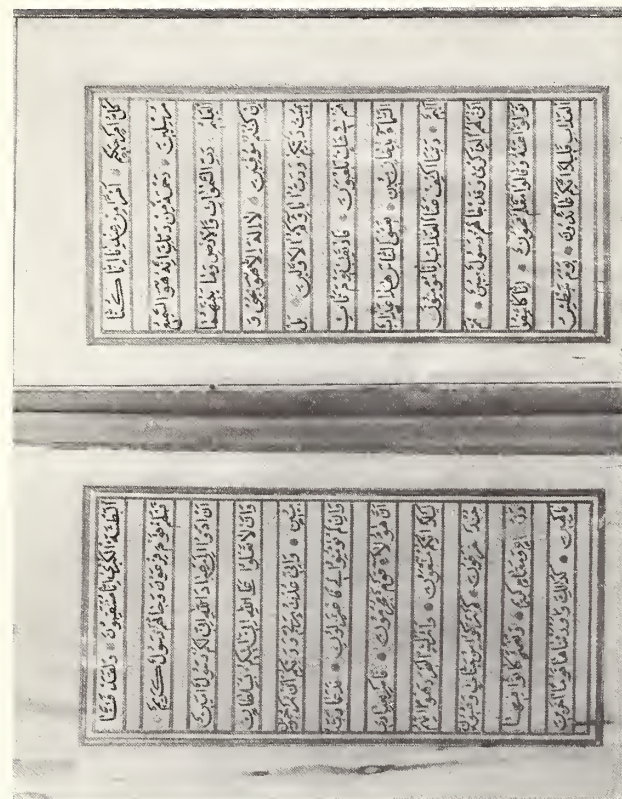


FIG. 2—FOLIO 16 RECTO, 15 VERSO

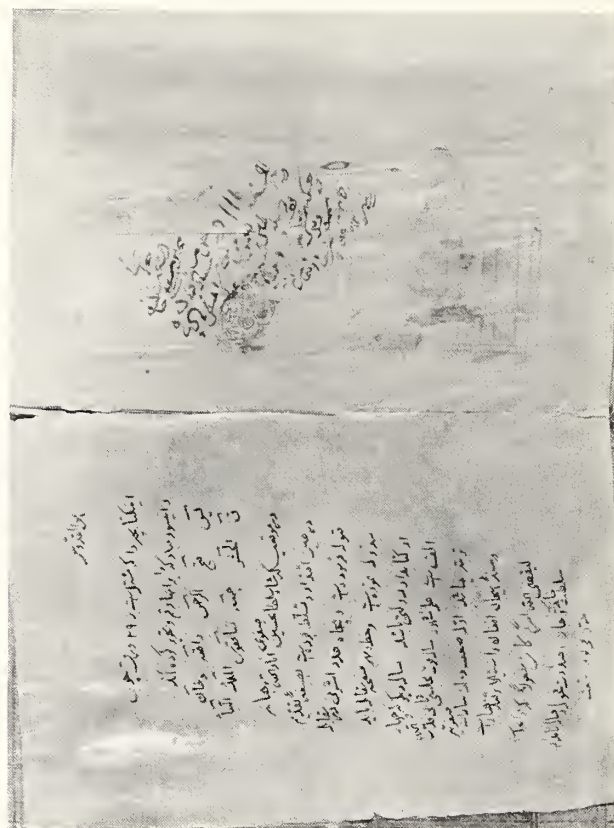


FIG. 3—LAST PAPER FLYLEAF, RECTO, FOLIO 9 VERSO

ARABIC-PERSIAN WOODEN KUF'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPT

# AN ARABIC-PERSIAN WOODEN KUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPT FROM THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF SHĀH ḤUSAIN ṢAFAWĪ I, 1105–35 H.

BY NABIA ABBOTT

THE PRESENT MANUSCRIPT IS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. JAMES G. FLESSER OF CHICAGO, who acquired it during his travels in Persia, from a merchant of Teheran.

*General description.* Outer format, 16.8 by 11.8 by 0.5 cm.; that of the twenty-nine wooden folios, without the paper margins, an average of 14.5 by 8.3 cm.; and the thickness of the leaves as measured by a micrometer, 0.01 to 0.125 mm. Margins of thin blue paper,<sup>1</sup> varying in width from 0.8 to 2.3 cm., frame the wooden folios. A paper flyleaf is added at each end. The folios are glued together at the inner margins, and the whole is glued to the back of the cover by way of binding.

The present color of the wood is a delicate, yellowish light brown, but it is possible that this color is in part due to age and to the polish preservative used in the preparation of the sheets. The grain of the wood is very fine, uniform, and compact. The wood knots are to be seen on several of the folios (*Fig. 2*). The surface is so highly smoothed and polished that, though both sides of the sheet bear writing, nowhere does the ink soak through or spread. Positive identification of the wood is difficult, but both boxwood and cedar wood are possible, and perhaps even poplar wood, all three being readily found in the East, and widely used for delicate and valuable art objects of woodwork.

The cover has a thin foundation of coarse, rough leather, overlaid with an extremely fine and highly smoothed reddish-brown leather on the inner side. This folds over upon the outer side to form a narrow frame for the tapestry which forms the outer cover of the binding. This tapestry, of multicolored design on a background of white, consists of a number of pieces, small and well worn, patched together without any regard to the original design or to the grain of the weave of the cloth. The narrow leather frame is stamped with a silver border design, now much faded.

*Content, script, and decorative scheme.* The twenty-nine folios contain eleven sūras of the Kur'ān. The Arabic text, written in black ink, is in the usual naskhī script; the Persian interlinear translation, in red ink, is in the nastaliq script. The penmanship in both instances is of a high quality, both from the point of beauty of letter forms and of evenness and expert uniformity of execution.

An extensive decorative scheme is limited to the first double page of the text (*Fig. 1*). Here a simple geometric and floral design is worked into the upper part of each of the two pages, with a floral leaf-and-bud border for the margins. Blue, outlined largely in white, is freely used in the main design of the upper half of the page; the rest of the floral design is carried out in a dull olive green with touches of deep red. A narrow border of red, dotted in white, separates the upper decorative half from the text and from the margins. The captions on both pages are in the thuluth script, written in green over gold. The caption on the first of the two pages consists of the usual name, place of revelation, and number of the verses of the sūra—in this case *Yā-Sīn*; that on the second page consists of the familiar verses 79–80 of

<sup>1</sup> This paper is of British manufacture; it has an imprint (not a watermark) on folios 12–14, consisting of a wreath enclosing the British Crown over the word

“BATH” in Roman capitals—a testimony to early British trade in Persia.



Sūra LVI (al-Wāḳi'at) "None shall touch it but the pure; a revelation from the Lord of the Worlds." The line drawings, carried out in gold, now somewhat greenish, and outlined in black and red, are very fine and expertly done throughout. For the rest, attempts at decoration consist of writing the sūra headings in gold and of marking off the verse divisions with a small gold circle or disk.

Later "decorations" have marred rather than improved the manuscript. These consist of three paper cutouts<sup>2</sup> pasted, one each, on the paper flyleaf at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript and on the recto of the first wooden leaf. This last is cut out of thin red paper, twice folded, so as to give a symmetrical design of four units working from the center outward. It seems to represent a hunting scene, with men afoot and on horseback, animals that suggest the elephant, deer, and boar, and several bird figures. Though the cutting is neatly done, the design on the whole is crude in appearance. The cuts on the front and back flyleaves are of thin yellowish- and bluish-white paper respectively, and the animal and floral design of each is carefully executed.

*Origin and date of the manuscript.* It may be readily seen that the manuscript as we now have it is not in its original format or its entire original binding. The wood margins show words cut away for the larger part, indicating that these wood margins were originally wider, wide enough at least to allow for the completion of these words. Wear and tear on the delicate wooden sheets may have been the cause of the trimming down of the margins, and the addition of the blue (to take away the evil eye?) paper margins.<sup>3</sup> Several of the folios show paper patching of thin strips mostly, but also of large sections in some few instances. The paper flyleaves with their cheap paper cuts do not seem to be in keeping with the rare wooden sheets; and although the leather part of the cover may be original with the manuscript, the many-pieced tapestry is more in keeping with the paper cuts than with the wood folios themselves.

To detect these later additions does not, however, bring us any nearer to the origin of the manuscript itself. For this we must turn to two notes (*Fig. 3*), one on the verso of the last wooden folio, and a later one on the recto of the end flyleaf. The second of these notes as translated by Professor Sprengling reads as follows:

He [is]<sup>4</sup> the Holy one—This little book, which contains 29 wooden leaves, on which are written and inscribed these blessed sūras, Yā-Sīn, Fath, al-Raḥmān, Wāḳi'a, Dukhān, Kāf, al-Ḥaṣhr, Jumu'a, Munāfiḳūn,

<sup>2</sup> 'Abd Allāh, son of Mīr 'Alī, the originator of the nastaliq script, is credited with the creation of this art of Persian paper cuts. The innovations of both father and son date back to the fifteenth century of our era. Cf. C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman* (Paris, 1908), pp. 207-9, 325.

<sup>3</sup> Another and an earlier Ṣafawīd manuscript, this time of some of Jāmī's poems dated 1556 A.D., has margins of different colors. The manuscript was exhibited at the recent Exhibition of Islamic Art (No. 5 in the *Catalogue*) held at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, California, February to March, 1937.

Cf. Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier* (Wien, 1887), pp. 60 ff., for use of colored paper, p. 63 for use of blue paper.

<sup>4</sup> For the reading of the first word as هو, see S. Beck, *Neupersische Konversations-Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1914), p. 477. Cf. J. Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Wien, 1894), p. 259, from which it would seem possible that this word, read in Persian and Turkish documents and letters as هو, is in reality an extremely abbreviated form of the Bismillah.

al-Mulk, [and] al-Naba', at the time when Shāh Sultān Ḥusain Ṣafawī—may God illuminate his proof<sup>5</sup>—was at the height of his power and authority, was graciously accepted in the form of a presentation and fifty ashrafi<sup>6</sup> pieces were presented in return, and the head and seal of the opposite page must be [that] of the royal librarian.

The following year, which is four alifs, 1111 H. (1699–1700 A.D.), the well-known year of the death of Majlisī Thānī (Majlisī II)—may God sanctify his tomb—would be the first of the weakness of the rule of the Ṣafawī lords, and from [? or the beginning of] it the Afghan outbreak and the conquest of Ḳandahār dates [literally *is*], in order that God might accomplish an affair that was preordained, through which circumstances there came to pass the rule of the Ḳājār dynasty and the premiership of [their] great and famous men. Written in the day of the mission.

The historical events<sup>7</sup> referred to here are briefly as follows:

The first years of Shāh Ḥusain's reign were to all outward appearances peaceful and prosperous. The meek and pious shah gave himself up to his pleasures, and the reins of his government to the mullahs who were all-powerful at his court. Outstanding among these were Mullāh Muḥammad Taḳī-i-Majlisī, died 1070 H. (1659–60 A.D.), known as Majlisī I, and his son, Mullāh Muḥammad Bākīr-i-Majlisī, known as Majlisī II. Both were fanatic Shī'a divines who did much to popularize Shī'a traditions among the masses. The activities and fame of the father, however, were overshadowed by those of the son, who came to be considered as the most notable and powerful of all Shī'a divines.<sup>8</sup> His death in 1111 H. (1699–1700 A.D.) was much lamented, and his tomb became a shrine to his Shī'a admirers,

<sup>5</sup> This phrase, frequently used as a wish, seems to have reference here to the man's, and not to God's, "proof," as interpreted in a similar case by Mr. Muhammad A. Simsar, "Three Rare Manuscripts from the John Frederick Lewis Collection," *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, LVII (1937), 94. Mr. Simsar has capitalized the "his" in Lane's translation, which reads "God taught him his proof." Lane's translation, which, it is true, overlooked the fact that the phrase is used to express a wish, is based on *Tāj al-'Arūs*, III, 590, where we have for the phrase انار الله برهانه the explanatory phrase لفتنه حاجته. Since the first phrase is frequently used, as in both these present instances, as a wish for a deceased person, and since the second phrase is likewise so used and is frequently found on tombstones as a wish that God may "'suggest' or 'dictate to him his argument,' when the dead are questioned by the angels of divine inquisition in the graves," see *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, III (1936), 196, we can safely give as a free translation of the first phrase, "May God inspire him to put forward a convincing proof."

<sup>6</sup> The name ashrafi as applied to coins probably dates back to the Mamlūk Sultān al-Ashraf Barsbey of Egypt. Its use spread to the East, and several of the Ṣafawid

shahs, including Shāh Ḥusain, struck ashrafi gold coins, whose standard weight was about 54 grains troy. Later Nādir Shāh introduced the muhr-ashrafi, which weighed 162 grains troy, or three times the weight of the standard ashrafi; cf. R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia* (London, 1887), pp. lxi–lxiii. By a regulation of 1793, the weight of the gold muhr-ashrafi, as used in India, was fixed at 190.894 grains troy, and its value in Calcutta estimated at about 16 rupees; cf. F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1834), p. 64, under the word ashrafi. According to this the value of a 54-grain ashrafi would be about 4½ rupees.

<sup>7</sup> For accounts of Shāh Ḥusain's reign and his times see *Encycl. Islam*, II, 341–42; Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea with the Revolutions of Persia* (London, 1753), III, 22–56; John Malcolm, *The History of Persia* (London, 1829), I, 400–438; Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London, 1921), II, 214–42; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1929–30), IV, 113–14, 129–33.

<sup>8</sup> For a characterization of the man and an account of his numerous works, cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, IV, 120, 194, 359, 366, 381, 403–4, 409–10, 416–18.



who presently began to attribute the supreme disaster of the Afghan rebellion to the disappearance of so saintly a character.<sup>9</sup>

Owing to the character of Shāh Ḥusain, the weakness of his government, and the intrigue of his court, there was wanting the man and the co-operative effort to overcome the Afghan rebellion which was maneuvered by the great Mir Wais. The revolution brought about the fall of the Ṣafawīds, and the practical extermination of that royal house through a wholesale massacre of the male members of the shah's family. Shāh Ḥusain himself, after being deposed in 1722, was slain in 1729.<sup>10</sup> The Afghans in their turn were presently overthrown by the efforts of Nādir Shāh, 1148–60 H. (1736–47 A.D.), the Zends, 1163–1211 H. (1750–97 A.D.), and finally the Qājārs, 1193–1342 H. (1779–1924 A.D.).

The date of this note, 1229 H. (1814 A.D.), is to be found in the last sentence, حرر في يوم المبعث, a chronogram the numerical value of which totals 1229.<sup>11</sup> The note is therefore about 115 years (119 Hijra years) later than the note on the opposite page to which the writer makes reference in such a way as to leave the impression that he, too, had some difficulty in reading this first note, which in parts, at least, is decidedly illegible. Since he does not tell us outright that the writing and seal of the first note *are* those of the royal librarian, but states that they *should be* those of the royal librarian, we in turn should be justified in inferring either that his statement was more or less a guess or that he had other sources of information regarding the manuscript, from which he drew his own conclusions as to the probable authorship of the first note. His otherwise careful and accurate historical references indicate a man well acquainted with the history of Persia and probably with its historical literature also.

The reading<sup>12</sup> of this earlier note, so far as it is legible, seems to run as follows:

- (۱) در هـد السنة ۱۱۱۰ حرر بمحرم محسن بن علي خان ربت قراني  
(۲) حکمتده بود سلاطين صفوی بنهائے سال چهار  
(۳) ..... جلوس شاه حسین صفوی المنظر بالله  
(۴) در زمن پناه عدد اشرفی ائمان کرد است  
محمد باقر بن سید حسن الحسینی ۱۱۱۰

(SEAL)

Translated, these read:

1. Written at Hud<sup>13</sup> in Muḥarram of the year 1110, [by] Muḥsin ibn 'Ali Khān. Qur'ānic manuscript.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 129–33.

<sup>11</sup> The *mim* of the word المبعث is as clear as the *mim* of the word المشهور in line 11. To read المبعث يوم المبعث (cf. Qur'ān, Sūra 30, verse 56) instead of يوم المبعث would give the date 1189 H. (1775 A.D.), which would be too early, since Aghā Muḥammad, generally considered as the founder of the Qājār dynasty, did not begin to play a decisive role till 1193 H. (1779 A.D.); cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, II, 174–78.

<sup>12</sup> There is some possibility that the last part of the line beginning with Muḥsin formed a separate notation.

Uncertain readings are overlined.

<sup>13</sup> A place in the province of Yazd; cf. Steingass, *op. cit.* For Yazd, see Yāqūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Ed. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1924), IV, 1017–19.

<sup>14</sup> The word ربعة indicated originally the casket or box in which the Qur'ān was kept or carried, but seems to have been transferred in Arabic usage to the Qur'ān itself. Several dedicatory sheets of Qur'āns given in wakf refer to the Qur'ān in question as الربعة الشريفة (e.g. Oriental Inst., No. A12030). A *rā'* joined to a following *alif*, as seen in the word قراني, is not unknown in Persian writing.

2. [? words] the Ṣafawī sultans, at the close of the fourth year.
  3. [? words] (of the reign of) Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafawī al-Munzar Billah.
  4. At which time he gave for it the just price of fifty ashrafi [pieces].
- (Seal): Muḥammad Bākīr ibn Saiyad Ḥasan al-Ḥusainī [1110 H.].

The seal has made a very poor impression on the wood. It is oval in shape, and the style of its inscription resembles that of the four seals, three oval and one rectangular, found on another manuscript—a wakf document dated 1118 H. (1706 A.D.)—from Shāh Ḥusain's library.<sup>15</sup> The rectangular seal belongs, like ours, to Muḥammad Bākīr ibn Saiyad Ḥasan al-Ḥusainī,<sup>16</sup> whose full name appears on both seals. It is dated, however, 1106 H. (1694 A.D.) or four years earlier than the seal of our manuscript. The fact that it is still in use in 1118 H. (1706 A.D.) is not in itself surprising, and is further interesting in that it points to the use of more than one seal by Muḥammad Bākīr from 1110 H. on. It would therefore seem, from the use of his seals on royal manuscripts, that he was officially connected with the royal library, either as chief librarian or as one very close to that official. He does not seem to have been limited to administrative duties, for we find him composing “a popular treatise on the defects and doubts which invalidate the legal prayer according to Shī'a practice.” This work, undated, is dedicated to Shāh Ḥusain.<sup>17</sup>

Taking the two notes together it seems safe to infer that Muḥsin ibn 'Alī Khān was likely a subordinate employee in the royal library, and that Muḥammad Bākīr, as a royal librarian, was having the seal-stamped notation made in accordance with Shāh Ḥusain's order. The dates in the two notes agree, and furthermore Muḥarram 1110 H. (10 July–9 August, 1698 A.D.) is actually the first month of the fifth Hijra regnal year of Shāh Ḥusain, his *julūs* or coronation having taken place on the 14th Dhū al-Ḥijah, 1105 H. (August 5 or 6, 1694 A.D.).<sup>18</sup> This note would therefore give us, not the date of the writing of the manuscript, but that of its acquisition by the royal library. The note furthermore runs across several narrow strips of paper pasted over cracks in the wooden sheet, from which fact it seems safe to conclude that at the time of the writing of the note, the manuscript itself was of considerable age, old enough anyway to need much patching. So far as the scripts go, the writing of the manuscript could be thrown back to the fifteenth century, when the new Persian nastaliq largely replaced the ta'liq script.<sup>19</sup>

Another possible clue to a more certain dating lay in determining the age of the wood. With this object in view Mr. Frank Herbert Blackburn, a student of such problems, photographed several of the sheets; but owing to the thinness and the longitudinal cut of the wood, he reports his results were disappointing, in fact, nil.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Simsar, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>16</sup> This Muḥammad Bākīr al-Ḥusainī must not be confused with the Muḥammad Bākīr ibn Ismā'il al-Ḥusainī al-Khātūnābādī, who is the writer of the wakf document referred to above, either as the actual drafter of the document or as the calligrapher, or very likely as both. Mr. Simsar (*op. cit.*, p. 92), who supplied me with this latter Muḥammad Bākīr's full name, refers to him as a “famous calligrapher,” apparently on the strength of this wakf document alone, since a request by letter for the source of his information brought back in reply, “He

was an accomplished calligrapher, as this manuscript in his handwriting reveals.”

<sup>17</sup> C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879), I, 27, where his full name is given as: محمد باقر بن سید حسن بن خلیفه سلطان الحسینی

<sup>18</sup> Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

<sup>19</sup> C. Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 207. The naskhī script is several centuries older than the nastaliq.



Still another possible clue now lies in gaining a better knowledge of the practice of the art of writing on wood, especially in Islamic times and countries. Writing on tree bark, on wooden "slips,"<sup>20</sup> and on wooden tablets is of course an ancient and well-known practice, but writing a continuous manuscript on extremely thin sheets of wood seems to be—so far as can be gathered from my recent and unsuccessful search—neither ancient nor well known. Mr. Flessner was informed at the time of the purchase of this manuscript that one other wooden manuscript was known to be in the mosque of Rīzā 'Alī at Maṣḥad.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Tahsin Öz, director of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, writes me that they have no wooden manuscripts in that museum, and that he is unaware of the existence of such manuscripts in any other museum or library. But he adds: "However, a good many years ago someone from Azerbaijan offered to our museum for sale a Koran written in this wise. It was incomplete, and many leaves were broken, but the writing was very fine, although written on wood." Information from others who know of such manuscripts and who can throw any light on this particular branch of the art of writing on wood will be welcome. In the meantime it seems justifiable to infer that such wooden manuscripts were rare even at the time of their origin, and that they were regarded, even then, more as curios than as specimens of a widespread and flourishing art.

The presentation of such a Qur'ānic manuscript as a gift to Shāh Ḥusain seems appropriate, for notwithstanding his moral degeneracy<sup>22</sup> he was something of a scholar and a theologian himself, much attached to the reading of the Qur'ān—so much so, that his efforts in these lines earned for him the titles of "the meek zealot," and the "Mullah Ḥusain."<sup>23</sup> His appreciation of the gift is to be measured by the fifty ashrafi gold coins he bestowed on the donor.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia* (Oxford, 1928), I, 215, 415, 424 (and index) for these slips dating as far back as the first century B.C.; the thinnest slip recorded is one-twelfth of an inch in thickness (*ibid.*, p. 424, T. XLIII, i .03). See also E. E. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein* (Oxford, 1913), pp. iii, viii–ix, for the use of these wooden "slips" in Turkestan and in China in the fourth century A.D. It is interesting to note that, despite the thickness of these slips, some

were actually grouped and tied or bound together, thus giving us a sort of a wooden book.

<sup>21</sup> The *Fihrist Kutub Kitābkhānah* (Maṣḥad, 1926), a Persian catalogue of this library, refers to the large Qur'ānic manuscript collection (p. 5), which, however, it does not catalogue.

<sup>22</sup> Hanway, *op. cit.*, III, 30–31, 208.

<sup>23</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, IV, 113–14. Cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, II, 214.







FIG. 1—TOMB OF SHER SHAH, SASARAM, DT. SHAHABAD, BIHAR



FIG. 2—TOMB OF HASSAN SUR SHAH, SASARAM, DT. SHAHABAD, BIHAR

## NOTES

### SHER SHAH'S MAUSOLEUM AT SASARAM

Although the Taj Mahal is renowned throughout the world as the most beautiful monument of Indian architecture, many connoisseurs regard the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram in Bihar as superior to it. No doubt, Sasaram is at a considerable disadvantage in comparison with the Taj Mahal, since the latter is situated in the vicinity of a capital of the Mughal Empire, second in importance only to Delhi, and is surrounded by the traditional glory of many centuries, while the Sasaram tombs have almost to the present day been half-forgotten in the solitude of a quiet country town. Though they are so near the great railway artery from Benares to Gaya and Calcutta that one can see their cupolas from the window of the railway carriage, most of the trains do not stop at the small station, where one has difficulty even in storing baggage, and the drive is over Indian field paths, seated on a primitive Indian ekka, until the buildings are reached. Nor can they vie with the costliness of marble and intarsia mosaics which astonish the naïve visitor to the Taj Mahal, as their embellishment is restricted to a few friezes of decorative inscriptions and some almost vanished ornaments made of glazed tiles. Their beauty consists in that simple but absolute harmony of proportions and that monumentality of expression which have again become the ideal of modern architecture.

Much has been written about the beautiful harmony of the Taj Mahal. From a theoretical point of view this cannot be gainsaid, but, though it impresses one as really wonderful, there always remains a feeling of uneasiness. The Taj Mahal is a hybrid. This most Indian monument is perhaps as un-Indian a design as has ever been materialized in India, for the Taj Mahal represents rather the Turkish aspirations of Shah Jahan, that most pronounced legitimist of all the Mughal emperors. It represents the same ideals as does his war for the reconquest of the ancestral capitals Samarkand and Bukhara, or

the many paintings of his court studios proclaiming the fame of Tamerlane and his dynasty.

The Taj Mahal is the architecture of Samarkand transferred to Indian soil. Its central dome and cupola are an imitation of Tamerlane's tomb; the galleries and iwans supporting this dome are very typical of the style of Turkestan and Persia; but the transposition of the Turkestan style to the Indian taste did not completely succeed. The combination of the cupola and the iwans is incomplete and results in a certain lack of unity in the general impression, and creates a feeling of restlessness. The sweet, feminine refinement of the marble plates does not harmonize with the masculine severity of a nomad style needing the robust vivacity of the glazed tile. It is in spite of these shortcomings that the singular distinction and refinement of the Taj Mahal elevates its beauty into being one of the wonders of the world.

Sher Shah's mausoleum is the most pronounced possible contrast to the Taj Mahal. There is nothing of the feminine refinement, the delicacy of decoration, the costliness of materials, embodying the splendor of a luxurious rule firmly established for more than a century and looking back on a dynastic tradition of a quarter millennium. Sasaram is the creation of a usurper dynasty, of a stern and genial soldier, and with his death its glory passed.

Sher Shah was the son of an Afghan soldier in the service of the Lodi sultans of Delhi. Sasaram and Khawaspur in the Shahabad District of Bihar had been the family fief since Hassan Sur, the father, had come from Hissar-Firoza near Delhi. For Sher Shah it was more—it was the very symbol of his life and of his glory.

There is a curious connection between Sasaram and the rise of this little Afghan noble to the imperial throne of India. It was at Sasaram that in 1511 young Farid—this was his original name—as representative of his father first tried the administrative reforms which made him one of the most beneficent and important rulers of India. It was because of Sasaram that he had



to flee from the paternal home, expelled at the instigation of a stepmother who wished to see the fief in the possession of her own son, Sulaiman. It was for the recovery of Sasaram that he was drawn into the party struggles of the declining Lodi empire, that in 1529 he finally returned as deputy governor of the new Mughal dynasty. It was for the possession of Sasaram against the partisans of his stepbrother Sulaiman that he had to organize his own party. In the then-ensuing struggle between the Mughal empire of Humayun and the Afghan kingdom of Bengal Sher Khan rapidly rose to the position of virtual ruler of Bihar (1534), the crowned Shah of Bengal (1539), the restorer of the Afghan power (1540), the ruler over the whole of northern India, Bengal, Hindustan, Punjab, Sindh, and Rajputana (1544), when he met his death through an explosion before Fort Kalinjar (1545). He never saw Sasaram again—it is not even certain whether he was buried in his mausoleum, for his badly mutilated body was buried at Ladgarh near Kalinjar, and historians disagree as to whether his coffin was later transferred to his native town.

In the midst of all these campaigns Sher Shah had found time to initiate a remarkable building activity. In his family fief his own tomb and that of his father, Hassan, were erected, to which later on was added the never-finished mausoleum of his successor, the fickle and debauched Islam Shah. In Delhi he began the laying out of a new capital of which only the fort, Purana Kila, and the Masjd-i *Djāmi'* were completed. A strong fort was constructed at Rohtas in the Punjab, and a mosque in Patna. The mosque of Purana Kila, called "Qila-kuhna," has aroused the enthusiasm of many archaeologists, being the final accomplishment of the Indo-Muhammedan Pathan style and the precursor of the art of the Mughals up to the years of Shah Jahangir. Sasaram, however, is the crown of Sher Shah's buildings.

Sher Shah's mausoleum is situated to the southwest of the town of Sasaram, in the middle

of an artificial pond, connecting with the embankment by means of a dam and bridge. Around it the country is arid, with isolated palm trees and vestiges of a circumvallation. Through a gateway one passes over the bridge and the dam, flanked by palm trees and shrubs, to a staircase leading to a quadrangular terrace, the corners of which bear beautiful pavillions; staircases lead down from each side of the terrace to the ghat.

The mausoleum itself is an octagonal building, surrounded by a gallery of almost half its height and surmounted by a receding low cupola. The whole is extremely simple—only the ground floor shows three ogival arches on each side—and the decoration is restricted to the usual battlement frieze on the top of each story and floral knobs at the sides of the arches and on the cupolas. The enlivening element of this sober and stern architecture is the sixteen pavillions on the top of the gallery and around the cupola. Though they are quite simple, their vivid contrasts of light and shadow create a feeling of ease and grace counterbalancing the heaviness of a cupola which, together with the supporting walls, seems to crush the arcades of the ground floor. The interior is of an unsurpassed simplicity, the doorways of the surrounding arcades (here with horizontal Hindu architraves) and a gallery connected with the pavillions outside being the only ornaments; but they are dominated by the unique impression of the gigantic dome which is surpassed only by that of the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur.

The two other tombs are of less interest. That of Hassan Khan in the middle of the present town has no pond but lies in the middle of a fortified garden. It is smaller, and there are no pavillions, only small cupolas on the tops of the surrounding arcades. The interior has no gallery, but only eight windows and a beautiful inscription frieze along the base of the dome. The third mausoleum, to the northwest, on the other side of the railway, had been planned on a scale surpassing even that of Sher Shah's tomb, and

its decoration is the most elaborate of all the Sasaram buildings. But neither the pond nor the tomb itself has ever been finished; only the ground-floor story was half built when the work was stopped.

Sher Shah's buildings may safely be regarded as the zenith of the so-called Pathan style of Indian art, that translation of the heavy sun-dried brick architecture of early Muhammedan Mesopotamia into the stone technique of the Hindu and Jaina temple-builders of medieval Rajput India. Their next relatives are the mosques of the Sharki Sultans at Jaunpur, a little provincial capital not far off, on the other side of the Ganges, to the northwest of Benares. Though the prototypes of these cupola tombs must be sought at Old Delhi—no example of such buildings existing at Jaunpur—Sasaram shares the characteristic features of structure and decoration of the Sharki architecture. It shares also that certain graciousness which even this heavy and gloomy style of a bloody age had brought forth. In this respect it foreshadows the new age of Mughal art under Akbar, in which the Pathan style was finally merged with new traditions from Central Asia and Rajputana. In the same way as the tradition of the mosque of Purana Kila is to be felt in the Grand Mosque of Fathpur Sikri, that of the Sasaram tombs is alive in the tomb of Isa Khan, near the mausoleum of Humayun at Old Delhi.

But none of these monuments can surpass the sublime grandeur of Sher Shah's tomb. There is a reserved distinction in its beauty, a disdain of ornamental embellishment rather extraordinary in this country, and a perfection based only on absolute harmony of lines, proportions, and shades of a national style come to its ripest form of expression. It is the very portrait of its builder; it has the character of a great empire builder and reformer, stern and strong, but benevolent and averse to unessential matters. The Taj Mahal is the creation of a dynasty still conscious of its foreign origin, Sasaram the zenith of the national Indo-Muhammedan art.

The Taj Mahal is the memorial of an extraordinary lady and of feminine graciousness, Sher Shah's tomb the monument of an extraordinary man and of a great manly character.

HERMANN GOETZ

#### LA QUESTION DES FAÏENCES DE LA CORNE D'OR

Le volume d'*Ars Islamica* (Vol. IV, 1937) qui commémore le centenaire de l'Université de Michigan, contient un article du regretté Rudolf M. Riefstahl sur les premiers revêtements turcs de faïences à Andrinople ("Early Turkish Tile Revetments in Edirne"), lequel constitue une contribution aussi importante qu'inédite à la connaissance de la céramique de Turquie.

Cette étude posthume donne à ses amis l'illusion qu'il est toujours au milieu d'eux.

Dans un travail signé conjointement avec G. Migeon (*La céramique d'Asie Mineure et de Constantinople du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1923, p. 32), j'avais cru pouvoir identifier avec la production de la Corne d'Or, dont parle Evliya Çelebi, des fragments de pièces de forme à décor bleu, mis au jour par les travaux de terrassement consécutifs aux grands incendies de Stamboul du commencement du siècle.

Deux considérations avaient été déterminantes dans cette localisation à Stamboul et au seizième siècle de ce type de fragments: leur extrême fréquence dans le sous-sol de Stamboul, et ce fait qu'un petit motif qui les caractérise se retrouve sur un *toughra* de Sulaimân le Magnifique.

Riefstahl, dont la belle étude fait une large place aux revêtements à décor bleu du quinzième siècle, qu'il est le premier à faire connaître, estime que ces fragments (dont j'ai vu comme lui un spécimen en forme de carreau) ne doivent être attribués ni aux fours de la Corne d'Or, ni au seizième siècle (*op. cit.*, p. 272).

Des constatations à venir peuvent donner raison à Riefstahl, toutefois l'élément décoratif caractéristique de cette céramique (une espèce de trois conché, dont une extrémité se prolonge



par une floriture), ne se rencontre pas, comme il le dit (*op. cit.*, p. 254) sur le tympan de la mosquée Uč Šherefelī d'Andrinople, qui est du quinzième siècle (*op. cit.*, Fig. 1). On peut s'en rendre compte par une comparaison avec une plat du type que j'attribue à la Corne d'Or (Fig. 1).

Si un motif qui ne figure qu'une seule fois sur le tympan d'Uč Šherefelī, rappelle l'élément en question, avec la floriture en moins ce n'est la qu'un signe qui fait partie de l'inscription.

Ne disposant pas de la photographie du *toughra* de Sulaimān le Magnifique je donne (Fig. 2) un chiffre de Sultān Meḥmed III (1595-1603), apportenant à la collection d'A. Cillière et dont le champ est en grande partie couvert par le motif spécifique de ces faïences indéfiniment répété. L'identité est frappante et me semble de nature, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, à la même époque, c'est-à-dire au seizième et non au quinzième siècle les faïences à l'instar des enluminures.

ARMÉNAG ŠAKISIAN

#### NOTE ON A DIE ENGRAVER OF IŞFAHĀN

A Buwayhid double *dirham* (Fig. 1), acquired two or three years ago in Işfahān, merits a short notice of its own in that it bears the full name of the artisan who engraved the die. Minters' or die-engravers' letters are common enough on Islamic coins, but the present piece, recording as it does the artist's name and that of his father along with the Arabic equivalent of *fecit*, is, to my knowledge, unique in the long history of Muhammedan numismatics. The *dirham* was issued in the year 358 H. (968-69 A.D.) by Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah in Işbahān and bears the following inscriptions:

*Obverse*  
لا الله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المطيع لله  
ركن الدولة  
ابو على  
بويه

#### Inner margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باصبهان سنة ثمان وخمسين  
وثلاثمائة

#### Outer margin:

لله الامر من ومن بعد ويومئذ قبل عمل الحسن بن محمد  
بفرج الموءنون بنصر الله  
(Kūr'ān, XXX, 3-4)

Enclosing margins, a linear border. Outside the border, annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○

#### Reverse

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
عضد الدولة  
ابو شجاع  
موئذ لدولة  
ابو منصور  
بويه

Margin: Kūr'ān, IX, 33.

Enclosing area, a linear border; enclosing margin, a linear border. Outside the border, annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○

Weight: 5.00 grams.

Diameter: 31 mm.

The die engraver, however ambitious to record his name, was modest to a degree, and without a magnifying-glass one would overlook the inscription '*amal al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad*'. The words were not scratched on the coin but were engraved on the die itself in the finest minuscule kufic characters. That the idea of recording his name was no afterthought on the part of the artisan is evident: the horizontal stroke connecting the *qāf* and the *bā'* of the word *qabl* was purposely elongated to serve as a base on which to engrave the signature. Figure 1, an enlargement of approximately thirty-six times, shows the extraordinary inscription quite clearly.

The coin is of interest for another reason in that the names of three Buwayhid rulers as well as that of the Caliph al-Muṭī' appear on the obverse and reverse: Rukn al-Dawlah abū-'Alī as overlord, 'Aḍud al-Dawlah abū-Shuḍjā' as successor designate to the leadership of the Buwayhid house, and Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah abū-

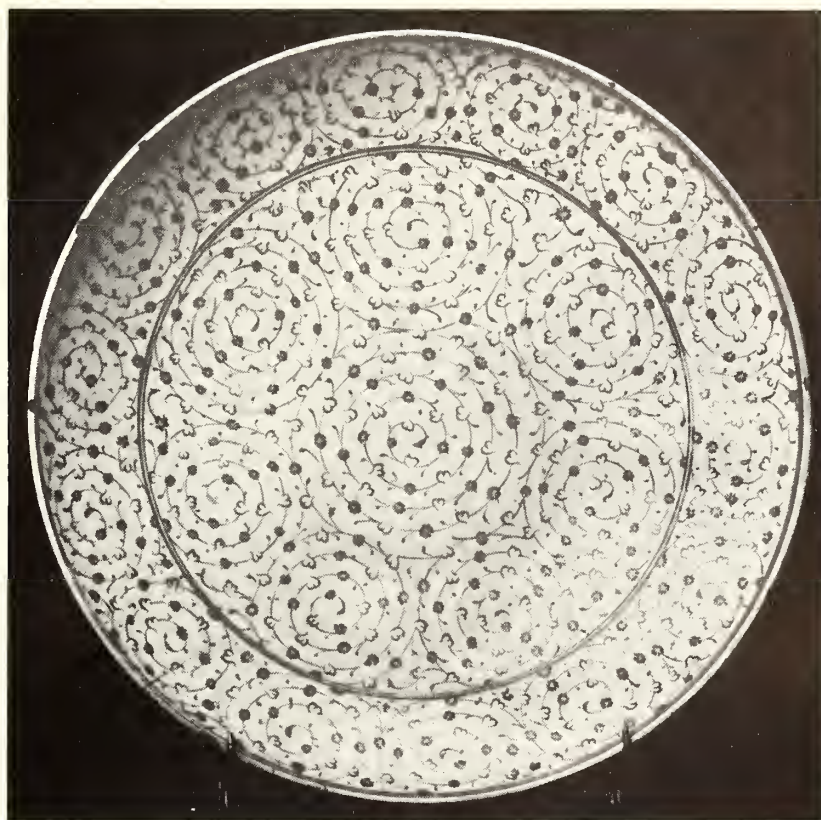


FIG. 1—PLAT DE LA CORNE D'OR, PARIS, MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS

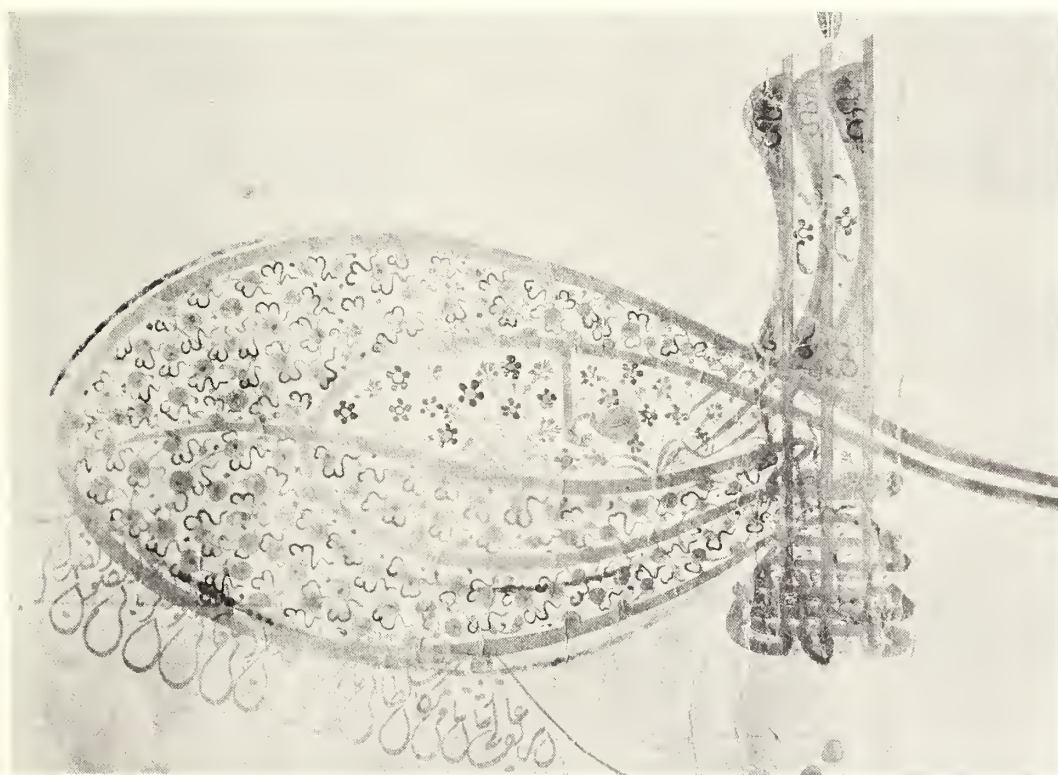


FIG. 2—CHIFFRE DU SULTAN MEHMED III, AIX-EN-PROVENCE, COLLECTION A. CILLIÈRE





FIG. 1—BUWAYHID DIRHAM

Manṣūr as governor of Iṣbahān. In this triple representation the present *dirham* is not unique but rare enough to deserve comment. I know of the following instances in which the three names appear together (all *AR*): Iṣbahān, year 358 H., Markov, *Inventory* (in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1896–98), page 321, No. 78 (probably identical with the coin under discussion, but since the coin is not described, as is usually the case in the *Inventory*, this is not certain); Iṣbahān, year 359, *ibid.*, page 982, No. 19; Iṣbahān, year 364 (two specimens), *ibid.*, page 927, No. 78a, and page 982, No. 20a; al-Ahwāz, year 364 H., *ibid.*, page 321, No. 79; Iṣbahān, year 365 (two specimens), *ibid.*, page 982, No. 21a, and E. Zambaur, “Contributions à la numismatique orientale–II,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1906), 41, No. 286; and lastly al-Muḥammadiyah (Rayy), year 365, Zambaur, “Contributions à la numismatique orientale–III,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XLVII (1914), 135, No. 467.

This last issue (al-Muḥammadiyah, year 365) is remarkable as a commentary on the written account of the meeting of reconciliation which took place in the same year at Iṣbahān where Rukn al-Dawlah confirmed his choice of his son ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah as successor, and named Fakhr al-Dawlah as ruler of Hamadhān and the provinces of al-Djābal (*sic*, i.e., al-Djibāl), and Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah as governor of Iṣbahān and its provinces (cf. Miskawaih, in *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. H. Amedroz, Oxford, 1920, II, 361 [line 14], and 364 [line 3]; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867–74, VIII, 492 [lines 2–21]). What actually occurred is presaged by the coin inscriptions of the year 365. After Rukn al-Dawlah’s death in Muḥarram, 366, Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah immediately took possession of the provinces of al-Djibāl, including Rayy, that were to have been, according to the arrangement, the property of Fakhr al-Dawlah, and the latter did not come into his heritage until Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah’s death in Sha‘bān, 373. The coins as well as the written sources

testify to this contravention of the decision of the Iṣbahān meeting: the Rayy issues of the years 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, and 372 were all minted by Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah (cf. Rūdhrawī, in *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. H. Amedroz, Oxford, 1921, 15 [lines 7 ff.], and 93 ff.; Ibn-al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VIII, 520 [lines 12–18], and IX, 8 [line 22], 10 [line 2], and 19 [lines 5–6]; Mīrkhwand, *Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, ed. F. Wilken, Berlin, 1835, 30 [line 18] and 31 [line 8]).

GEORGE C. MILES

#### NOTES ÉPIGRAPHIQUES SUR QUELQUES MONUMENTS PERSANS

##### I. Grande Mosquée de Barsiān

Dans le tome IV d’*Ars Islamica* M. Myron B. Smith étudiait, avec toute l’autorité que lui confèrent son incomparable connaissance des monuments persans et la méthode rigoureuse dont il s’inspire, une œuvre particulièrement significative de l’architecture iranienne: la grande mosquée de Barsiān, près d’Iṣfahān. On signalera ici un document épigraphique qui n’a pas été exploité dans l’étude en question et qui apporte quelques précisions complémentaires sur l’histoire de l’édifice.

Il s’agit de l’inscription sur plâtre, très endommagée, qui a été appliquée en surcharge sur le mur sud de la salle de prière, à droite du mihrab. La photographie publiée dans l’article cité (Fig. 34) et une autre photographie, que M. M. B. Smith a eu l’amabilité de me faire tenir dès qu’il fut informé de cette lacune dans sa documentation, m’ont permis d’en établir le texte:

- (1) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله \*
- (2) ..... ملرو مع ال[ص]حن† المجد[د] ‡ مبا
- (3) رك في § قرية البرسيان ... صاحبة
- (4) ا[م]|| الا[خوين الصدرين
- (5) الصاحبين المعظمين المفخرين ومشهور (?) زمان
- (6) امير جمال الحق والدين محمد بن نجم دولة



- (7) ودين امير محمود بن المرحوم الصد [ر] الا...  
 (8) [ال] سعيد [ال] شه [يد] [ر] روم ...  
 (9) الحق ودين محمد بن كمال الدين ....  
 (10) ... تاريخ ثاني وعشر جما (د) الاول سنة [خم] سنة وتسعين  
 (11) .... در تاريخ ربيع اول سنة خمس وتسع [ين]  
 (12-13) .....

\* La formule est lacunaire dans l'état actuel, mais les traces de lettres assurent sa restitution.

† Traces du *ṣ* bien nettes dans la lacune.

‡ Vestiges du *d* au dessus de la ligne, au dessous du dernier mot de la première ligne.

§ Avec ligature: *r* (de *mubārak*) + *k* (de *Karya*) = *fz*.

|| Le mot *ṣāḥibā* appelle ici un féminin: le mot suivant (*al-akhawānī*) étant net, on ne peut restituer dans la lacune que *ukht* pour lequel la place fait défaut ou *umm* qui est au surplus le plus vraisemblable.

Il n'y a d'autre divinité que Dieu; Muḥammad est l'envoyé de Dieu—... en même temps que le ṣaḥn restauré (puisse-t-il être béni!) dans le village de Barsiān, la maîtresse mère (?) des deux frères les deux ṣaḍr, les vizirs exaltés et glorifiés, l'illustration (?) de leur temps, l'émir Djamāl al-Ḥaḥḥ wa d-Dīn Muḥammad, fils de Nadjim-i Daula wa Dīn émir Maḥmūd, fils du défunt ṣaḍr... le bienheureux, le martyr (?)... al-Ḥaḥḥ wa d-Dīn, fils de Muḥammad, fils de Kamāl al-Dīn... la date du 12 Djumā(dā) I en l'année... 95... à la date de Rabī I en l'année... 95.

Dans l'état actuel du déchiffrement le texte n'indique ni la portée des travaux, ni leur date, ni même les noms complets des personnages qui les ont ordonnés: il est vrai que ces derniers doivent pouvoir être identifiés, car ils appartiennent à une famille de vizirs (ṣaḍr et ṣāḥib). Ceux à qui les chroniques de la Perse médiévale sont plus familières qu'à moi-même pourront sans doute retrouver leur trace dans quelque auteur et compléter les indications fragmentaires du document épigraphique. En tout état de cause, l'inscription est antérieure aux ṣafawīds.

## II. Grande Mosquée d'Iṣfahān

Dans la belle revue dont on lui doit la fondation (*Athār-é Īrān*, 1936, p. 213 ss.) M. A. Godard présente une étude des plus substantielles sur l'historique du Masjid-i Djum'a d'Iṣ-

fahān dans laquelle on trouve un véritable corpus des inscriptions que renferme l'édifice. Nous apporterons ici (presque toujours d'après nos propres copies) quelques rectifications aux textes ainsi publiés, dans le désir de conférer sa pleine valeur à ce riche matériel épigraphique, jusqu'ici inédit:

P. 234, l. 3 d'en bas: lire عاقبة au lieu de عقبته.

P. 238, en haut: lire سبعمائه au lieu de مائة سبع.

P. 238, seconde inscription lire:

بسمه ..... العمارة والمساجد والصلوة  
 على محمد ..... العمارة المباركة للعابدين فيها  
 معابد الله اضعف [عبا]د[الله] مرتضى بن الحسن بن  
 عمر العباسي الزينبي جزاه الله الواحد يجازي خير  
 العباد ويؤدوا (?) بان طبتهم وطاب الموعود في شهور  
 سنة ثمان وستين وسبعمائه من هجرة الرسول الشاهد  
 خصه الله بالصلوة ما حمده الحامد

P. 241, l. 6: lire "Abd al-Wahhāb."

P. 241, en bas: lire المرتضى au lieu de المرتضى  
 et عام au lieu de عامر (les trois derniers mots formant un chronogramme).

P. 245: lire هذا au lieu de هذه au lieu de  
 الحق au lieu de Neḡāmī (fautes d'impression).

P. 246: inscription en 3 lignes (début de la  
 1. 2: الملك; de la 1. 3: باصلاح). Après ma  
 copie porte وسلطانه. A la l. 3 lire: اه. وسلطانه  
 الاندراس واجر[اه].

P. 257, en haut: le texte n'est publié qu'en  
 extraits; lire ثلاثين au lieu de ثلثين.

P. 261, en bas: lire على [لتقى] الموء[سس]  
 المعصو[مين] و اشرف; المويد المبرور  
 سبطه اعظم فجله ...; plus loin على الخراب  
 au lieu de سبطه الاعظم.

P. 265: le début paraît douteux; lire plus loin  
 لعين au lieu de العين et فرع الشجرة الطيبة النبوية.

P. 270: lire مستعيد au lieu de مستعيد; plus loin  
 غياث الخطوب; ابو المويد au lieu de المويد  
 (rimant avec *muglith ash-shu'ūb*) au lieu de  
 غياث الخطوات.

P. 275: lire السوق الموقوف عليه.

## III. Divers

Même revue (*Athār-e Irān*, 1936, des corrections au premier fascicule de cette revue ont paru dans le *Bulletin d'études orientales* de l'Institut Français de Damas, VI, 100).

P. 290, en bas, d'après la photographie: الضعيف  
serait meilleur que الأضعف. Ajouter سنة avant خمس ?

P. 302: lire سنة ثلاثين au lieu de ثلاثين.

P. 361, à la ligne 4: lire الصديق وعمر [أبو بكر الصديق وعمر]. الفاروق وعثمان ذي النورين. La formule est connue et les traces du nom de 'Umar sont particulièrement nettes. Ce sont les noms des trois premiers califes rāshidīn, ce qui explique que cette ligne ait été martelée.

P. 363: lire القسم [أى].

P. 369: lire ربيع الآخر, et كتب ذلك, au lieu de ربيع الأول au lieu de ربيع الأول.

## IV. Barsiān (Suite)

M. M. B. Smith a eu l'amabilité de me faire tenir d'excellentes photographies de l'inscription de Shāh Ṭahmāsp qui date les constructions séfévides de la mosquée de Barsiān. Il m'a ainsi été possible de fixer la teneur de ce texte inédit, qui n'est pas sans intérêt pour l'histoire des Séfévides; je ferai donc connaître ici mon déchiffrement.

Bandeau se développant sur les trois faces (1, 2, 3) de l'iwan; sur faïence. Ecriture *thuluth*; grands caractères blancs sur fond bleu (les mots soulignés en petits caractères). Lacunes.

(1) .. .. [السلطان الاعدل الا (2) فخم  
(نا) صر عباد الله حافظ بلاد الله باب مولى ملوك (sic)  
والسلاطين] في العا [لمين] ... العظمى وصا [ح] ب  
الخلافة الكبرى قائد عسكر المهدي صاحب الزمان ابي  
المظفر شاه طه [ما] سب بن ..... الهي عنايات  
نامتناهي صاحب (3) اكرم اعظم افتخار الروحية في  
آسالنا (?) خواجه نظام الدين احمد بن خواجه عبد  
القادر بن شيخ ...

A la fin du bandeau, disposé suivant une ligne verticale:

عمل العبد الفقير سيد مهدي بن سيد زين العابدين  
كاشي تراش الحسنی (?)

.... le sultan très juste et très glorieux, protecteur des adorateurs de Dieu, défenseur des pays de Dieu, la porte du Maître des rois et des sultans dans l'univers .... suprême, le maître de plus haut califat, le commandant de l'armée du Mahdi, Maître de l'Heure, Abū l-Muzaffar Shāh Ṭahmāsp, fils de .... Providence infinie, le shāhib très noble et très digne de respect, orgueil de la vie spirituelle selon nos pratiques (?), le Khawādja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, fils du Khawādja 'Abd al-Qādir, fils du shaikh .... Oeuvre du serviteur qui a besoin (de Dieu), le sayyid Mahdi, fils du sayyid Zain al-'Abidīn, le faïencier, al-Ḥasanī (?)

Sur les deux parois latérales de l'iwan, quatre (ou six?) panneaux épigraphiques sur faïence dans des cartouches. On n'en lit plus que les derniers mots répétant le nom du constructeur:

خواجه نظام الدين احمد بن عبد القادر السالحي  
.... le Khawādja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, fils de 'Abd al-Qādir, al .... i

## V. Tabriz

Dans un récent article paru dans la *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (XCI, 1937, pp. 58-60 et 421-22) M. W. Hinz a apporté d'utiles précisions sur la date de construction de la fameuse "Mosquée Bleue" de Tabriz. Je ne crois pas inopportun de compléter ces indications en donnant ici le texte des deux inscriptions qui chargent la façade du monument, d'après les copies que j'en avais prises en 1932.

A.—Sous la niche du portail. Bandeau courant sur les trois faces de la construction; env. 10 m. x 0 m. 35. Sur faïence.

Ligne 1: naskhī; petits caractères jaunes dans les hampes de la ligne 2.

Ligne 2: naskhī; grands caractères blancs sur fond bleu (les mots soulignés en jaune or).

(1) ..... مع لدواعي المثوبات السنية الدينية  
الابدية ..... هاهنا المظفرية [trois mots]  
اعدل سلاطين العالم اعلم خواقين العرب والعجم ...  
(2) على البرايا العارف بالحق الغازي في سبيله تعالى  
..... م المطاع الخاقان الاعلم اللازم الاند ..... ابو  
المظفر سلطان جهانشاه [ه] بن شاه يوسف نويان رفع  
الله العلي الاعلى بدوام خلافتيه الو [ية] الدين  
[وشيد؟ با] فاضة مبراته مباني الملك ودعائم قباب  
الحق المبين امين



....les causes de ses bonnes actions sublimes, pieuses, durant à jamais....brillante de Muḏaffar ad-Dīn....le plus juste des sultans du monde, le plus savant des empereurs des Arabes et des Persans....des créatures, celui qui connaît la Vérité, celui qui combat pour la cause du Très-Haut....obéi, l'empereur très savant.... Abū l-Muḏaffar Sultan Ḍjahānshāh, fils de Shāh-Yūsuf Noyan. Dieu, l'Elevé, le Sublime, veuille élever, en faisant durer son califat, les étendards de la religion [et consolider?], en répandant largement ses bienfaits, les constructions de l'empire et les piliers des coupoles de la Vérité évidente! Amen.

B.—Bandeau encadrant la niche du portail. Env. 20 m. x 0 m. 30. Sur faïence. Naskhī; grands caractères jaunes en relief. Points. Les trois derniers mots en petits caractères dans les hampes.

بسمه انما يعمر مساجد الله (الآية) امين والصلوة  
على نبيه محمد وآله الطيبين وصحبه [جميعين] .....  
هذه [ال]عمارة المباركة المظفرة في رابع ربيع الاول  
من سنة سبعين وثمانمائة اقل العباد نعمة الله بن محمد  
البواب

Au nom....Coran, IX, 18....Amen. Et qu'Il bénisse Son prophète Mahomet, ainsi que les gens de sa famille, les purs, et tous ses compagnons....[cette] construction de Muḏaffar ad-Dīn (Dieu veuille la bénir!), le plus vil des adorateurs de Dieu Ni'mat-Allāh, fils de Muḥammad al-Bawwāb, le 4 Rabī' I 870 (25.X.1465).

Comme on le voit, l'état lacunaire de ce texte n'autorise pas à préciser le rôle joué dans la construction de la mosquée—architecte ou fonctionnaire chargé de surveiller les travaux—par le personnage qui s'y trouve mentionné. Peut-être tirerait-on quelque indication en ce sens de la comparaison avec un autre document épigraphique de la même époque, qui commémore la fondation d'une zāwiya funéraire d'Iṣfahān dont il ne subsiste plus que le portail, connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Dervāze-i Der-i Kushk, 902

H. (1496 A.D.). Comme à la Mosquée Bleue de Tabriz, un bandeau s'y déroule sur les trois faces de la niche du portail, spécifiant la nature et la date du monument, ainsi que le nom de son fondateur (A. Godard, "Iṣfahān," *Athār-é Irān*, II, 1937, 60: on apportera au texte publié les corrections suivantes: au lieu de عين الخواقين lire لعين الخواقين [“et même la prune de l'œil des empereurs”]; lire افتخار الامرأ; lire موبد دين; الاملاك وسيد الافلاك; le nom propre doit être lu پير علي بك پرناك [cf. Ḥasan al-Anṣārī, *al-Djabiri*, p. 86]; lire ابدت امارته au lieu de ابدت; au lieu du معز [nom de calligraphe], ma copie porte (معين). Comme le texte A de Tabriz cette inscription forme par elle-même un tout qui ne semble pas appeler de complément. Et portant le portail comportait autrefois un second texte: deux lignes en petits caractères, sur faïence, qui se déroulaient à gauche de la porte, sur le mur de fond de la niche, aujourd'hui détruit (cf. F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1910, Fig. 97, à gauche, et la planche correspondante). Les reproductions que j'ai pu en voir ne m'ont pas permis d'en déchiffrer plus de quelques mots, suffisants toutefois pour établir que ce texte complémentaire donnait la date de l'achèvement de l'édifice et très vraisemblablement les titres et noms d'un personnage. L'analogie avec la disposition des inscriptions de Tabriz est évidente: il est clair que les deux édifices offrent des rapports étroits à la fois sous la rapport de l'architecture et sous celui de l'épigraphie, et il serait désirable que ce texte disparu d'Iṣfahān pût être un jour connu, car il fournirait sans doute une indication utilisable pour l'histoire de la Mosquée de Tabriz.

JEAN SAUVAGET

ARS ISLAMICA





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FIG. 1—BRONZE VESSEL, WITH INLAY WORK, PERSIA, LATE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.  
TEHERAN, MUSEUM OF THE GULISTĀN PALACE

# THE PSEUDOPLANETARY NODES OF THE MOON'S ORBIT IN HINDU AND ISLAMIC ICONOGRAPHIES BY WILLY HARTNER

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ASTROLOGY

To Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIXED STARS WHICH REVOLVE ABOUT OUR EARTH IN NEVER-changing constellations and the planets traveling within them on intricate tracks was known in a very early period of uranoscopia. In historic times, all peoples in antiquity were fully conversant with it, though, of course, the degree of exactness of knowledge deduced from the given facts varied considerably with the different peoples concerned. Thus, for instance, it is known that in Babylonia as well as in Egypt the apparitions of Venus, or Mercury, rising before the sun as morning star, or setting after sunset as evening star, were not always recognized as belonging to one and the same astral body, and the discovery of the retrogradations of the planets may be even of a considerably later date. The pyramid texts still seem to ignore the identity of the morning and the evening star,<sup>1</sup> and in Mesopotamia also this identity can hardly have been definitively established before the second millennium.

Without entering upon a more detailed discussion of this question, I shall content myself with the statement that, as far as the number of the planets was concerned, there ruled, at the latest from the second half of the second millennium B.C. to the time of Herschel's discovery of Uranus, an almost perfect unanimity in all parts of the civilized ancient world. The orthodox astronomical doctrine, congruent with the observed facts, taught that the total number of planets was seven: the moon, the sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Philosophical speculations, such as the Pythagorean hypothesis of the ten celestial bodies, exercised, as is well known, a considerable influence upon certain groups of scholars; but, not being practically applicable to the natural phenomena, such speculations never attained general recognition, and they never could seriously affect the belief in the correctness, or rather reality, of the sacred number of the seven planets. It need hardly be emphasized that the Pythagorean conception of the earth revolving about a hypothetic central fire, together with the indemonstrable existence of an ever-invisible counterearth, also was impracticable for astrological purposes and that, therefore, no trace of it can be found in the whole of the astrological literature. Of no more practical interest, of course, are the 88 planets, 28 Nakshatras, and 6,697,500 billions of stars which, according to the Jaina philosophers, belong to each sun and moon.

However, it would be a grave error to acquiesce in stating this, assuming that, also as far as astrology was concerned, the sacredness of the heptad of the planets was never thus violated. As a matter of fact, astrologers knew of more than seven planets to be taken account of, though, it may be anticipated here, their additional planets have no connection whatever with those of the Pythagoreans or Jainas. They have their source, not in sophisticated cosmological

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 322.



speculations, but in a primitive mythological conception inwrought into a rather advanced system of exact astronomical knowledge—a rather strange mixture, it is true. Astrologers certainly have been aware of the illegitimacy of these children of the imagination, which were just as invisible to the human eye as was the Pythagorean counterearth. Maybe they even were a little ashamed of them, as evidenced by the fact that, to begin with, the literature is by no means abundant in clear references, and that when once a writer condescends to mention them he does it with due precaution, showing a suspicious eagerness to explain to the reader that they are not real planets, but only fictions treated as such.

More frequently by far these mysterious extra planets appear in the astrological iconographies of various times and places, sometimes recognizable to everybody's eye, sometimes carefully protected against the sight of the uninitiated. Let us, therefore, start the investigation with an analysis of a specially clear example.

#### THE RELIEFS OF DJAZĪRAT IBN 'UMAR

In his remarkable paper, "Throne of Khusraw,"<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld mentions a series of eight reliefs incised on one of the main pillars of the great Tigris bridge of Djazīrat ibn 'Umar. Few archaeologists seem to have found it worth while to visit this place and therefore no really good photographs of the badly damaged reliefs have so far been taken. However, the ones published by C. Preusser<sup>3</sup> (*Fig. 2*), on which Herzfeld also based his analysis, show clearly enough those details which are of special interest to us. As to the date of the reliefs, Herzfeld is certainly right in attributing them to the second half of the twelfth century. This may be judged from the style of the reliefs themselves as well as from the archaic character of the Naskhī inscriptions on them; moreover, Ibn al-Athīr's statement (XI, 204) that "the bridge of Djazīra was constructed by a certain Djamāl al-dīn (d. 559 H. [1164 A.D.])" most likely refers to the bridge in question, and thus confirms the above date.

Herzfeld's description of the figures represented in these reliefs, translated literally from the German, runs as follows:

The reliefs of this bridge show, starting from the right: (1) Saturn and Libra, (2) Jupiter and Cancer, (3) Mars and Capricorn, (4) the sun and Leo, (5) Venus and Pisces, (6) Mercury and Virgo, (7) the moon and Taurus, (8) Sagittarius and ?<sup>4</sup> Seven years ago Max van Berchem wrote me with reference to this: "This juxtaposition of the planets with the signs of the zodiac is the one called by the astrologers *exaltatio* (ἔψωμα), that was believed to exercise certain influences, and which

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, "Der Thron des Khosrō," *Jahrb. d. Preussischen Kunstsaml.*, 41 (1920), 1-24, 103-47; for the passage in question see pp. 138-39.

<sup>3</sup> C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, 17. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, 1911, Pl. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 138, inserts as a footnote the Arabic text:

(1) الميزان شرف زحل (2) السرطان شرف المشتري  
(3) القاهر شرف الجدى (4) الشمس شرفه الاسد

(5) الزهرا شرفها الحوت (6) السنبلة شرف عطارد  
(7) القمر شرفها [ها] الثور (8) الجوزهر .....  
.....

In No. 3, I am unable to recognize the mutilated name of the planet which Herzfeld reads "al-Kāhir." If this be correct, it would be a somewhat unusual equivalent of the ordinary term "al-Mirrīkh," ("Mars"). The following word must undoubtedly read, شرفه with the possessive suffix, not, as above, شرف. In No. 5, the two first words, الزهرة (not الزهرا) and شرفها, are de-

is different from the ordinary combination of the *domicilia*. The former is called, in Arabic, *sharafa* [N.B.: the correct term is the masculine noun *sharaf* (cf. the Arabic text)]. For many weeks, I studied the astrology of the Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Greeks, and Arabs, and finally arrived at the conclusion that these pictures have a purely astrological content, and by no means allow to carry out an astronomical determination of time, or even wish to indicate it [viz. the time of the construction of the bridge]. They originate in very old Babylonian conceptions."

Herzfeld's footnote (see footnote 4) in connection with the text produces the impression that, in relief No. 8, the word *Djawzahr* in the mutilated inscription corresponds with Sagittarius, whose picture is clearly visible on the relief. But this can hardly be so, because the Arabic name of Sagittarius is either al-*Ḳaws* or al-*Rāmī*, but never al-*Djawzahr*. The case is, however, quite clear: the relief itself shows the well-known picture of Sagittarius as a centaur shooting with his bow, and something less well known, which is still to be identified; this unknown quantity is obviously explained by the term *Djawzahr*, the only word that is preserved in the inscription.

What is, then, this mysterious *Djawzahr*, which is added to the seven planets and thus appears to be a planet itself? This question cannot be answered without a brief discussion of the two astrological systems of combining planets with zodiacal signs, the "domicilia" and the "exaltations" mentioned in van Berchem's statement.

#### THE PLANETS' DOMICILES AND EXALTATIONS

The two are rival systems—both have been in use throughout the ages since the beginning of Hellenistic astrology. For a long time they were considered to be of the same degree of importance; but as this necessarily led to intolerable consequences, astrologers agreed that the effect produced by a planet standing in its sign, or rather point, of exaltation should predominate over that produced by a planet's position in its *domicilium* (cf. p. 118). At all events, Hugo Winkler's assertion, quoted by Herzfeld,<sup>5</sup> that "a planet (Babylonian *nabû*, 'prophet') is without effective power when standing in its *domicilium* (*bîtu*, 'house'), thus illustrating the Biblical proverb 'A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house,'" is a misunderstanding. In astrology, the planet prophet is always treated with due consideration in his home and house! The question, whether the domicilia or the exaltations is the older system, cannot be answered offhand. As a perfected system, neither of them can have existed before the twelve-partite zodiac was established, which, roughly speaking, excludes any date earlier than the first millennium B.C. But, of course, it is by no means out of the question that one, or perhaps more, of the traditional juxtapositions of planets with particularly conspicuous constellations has its source in much older astronomical conceptions. As I intend to demonstrate in another paper, this is undoubtedly true of the combination of the sun with Leo, which takes us back even to prehistoric times.<sup>6</sup> As a whole,

stroyed. The possessive suffixes of Nos. 4 and 7 have to change their respective places: the sun, in Arabic, is female; the moon, male. The inscription of No. 7 reads

clearly شرفه .

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. pp. 119 and 146.



the domicilia have so far not been encountered in Babylonian astronomy or astrology, whereas the exaltations actually have been found, as E. F. Weidner<sup>7</sup> has shown.

1. *The domicilia* (Latin, *domicilium*; Greek, οἶκος; Arabic, bait)<sup>8</sup>

In this system a distribution of the seven planets on the twelve zodiacal signs which is as symmetrical as it possibly can be is sought. The circle of the zodiac is cut into halves by a diameter running from the beginning of Leo (i.e., the boundary between Cancer and Leo) to the beginning of Aquarius (i.e., the boundary between Capricorn and Aquarius). Then the top sign of the one half, Cancer, is attributed to the moon as her *domicilium* ("house"), and

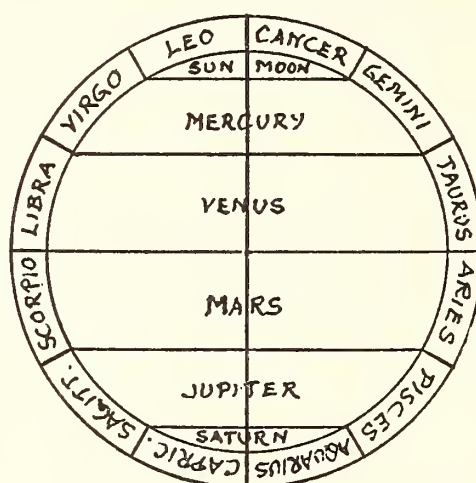


FIG. 3—THE PLANETS' DOMICILIA

that of the other half, Leo, to the sun. While, thus, the two great luminaries of the night and the day have only one house each, each of the remaining five planets has two, situated symmetrically on either side of the main diameter, the planets being arranged according to their periods of revolution—viz., Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, as is shown in Figure 3.

As the signs are alternately called male and female (viz., Leo, Libra, Sagittarius, Aquarius, Aries, Gemini, are male signs, the remaining six, female), the moon is the lord of a female *domicilium*, the sun of a male one, whereas each of the other planets has one of each kind. The distinction between night houses (the signs of the semicircle from Aquarius to Cancer, com-

<sup>7</sup> "Babylonische Hypsomatabilder," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1919, cols. 10-16. In the same volume, cols. 212-14, Herzfeld published a short article, "Astrologische Parerga," in which he says with reference to the reliefs of Djazīrat ibn 'Umar: "The parallel with Weidner's material (i.e., the planets' exaltations) is evident. But, curiously enough, though there are only seven planets, we here find eight pictures, and it really is to be regretted that just the eighth picture remains undistin-

guishable (*unkennlich*) on the photographs. Undoubtedly, it is only a stopgap (*Notbehelf*) because, for architectural reasons, eight pictures were needed. Nevertheless, we should very much like to know the 'substitute' (*Ersatz*) of the eighth planet." That in this particular case the eighth relief can hardly be called a "Notbehelf," will be shown in this article.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also my article on "Minṭaqa," *Encycl. Islām*, III (1936), 501-4.

manded by the moon) and day houses (Leo to Capricorn, commanded by the sun) was unknown in early Hellenistic astrology, but played an important part during the Middle Ages.

It is seen that, in this system, all signs of the zodiac are occupied by the seven planet lords, and no space could possibly be left over for any extra planet. Quite a different situation however, occurs in the other system.

## 2. *The exaltations* (Latin, *exaltatio*; Greek, ὑψωμα; Arabic, *sharaf*)

According to this astrological theory each planet has its maximum power ("exaltation") when standing in a certain sign of the zodiac. In this system, contrary to that of the domicilia, there rules a perfectly developed dualism, the sign diametrically opposite to the exaltation sign of a planet being called its "dejection" or "depression" (Latin, *deiectio*; Greek, ταπείνωμα; Arabic, *Hubūt*), where its influence becomes a minimum or is simply considered to be negligible. The planets' distribution on the signs is the following:

The sun has his exaltation in the sign of Aries, his dejection in Libra; the moon, exaltation in Taurus, dejection in Scorpio; Saturn, exaltation in Libra, dejection in Aries; Jupiter, exaltation in Cancer, dejection in Capricorn; Mars, exaltation in Capricorn, dejection in Cancer; Venus, exaltation in Pisces, dejection in Virgo; Mercury, exaltation in Virgo, dejection in Pisces.

The earliest written document hitherto known in which this juxtaposition of planets and zodiacal signs appears is a pre-Hellenistic Babylonian cuneiform tablet published by F. X. Kugler, S.J.,<sup>9</sup> and interpreted correctly by E. F. Weidner.<sup>10</sup> The list contained in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* is identical with the above and, therefore, of no special interest. But in a contemporary second-century Greek papyrus of Egyptian origin,<sup>11</sup> as well as a century earlier, in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, there appears an important restriction: it is no longer the entire sign, but only one single *degree* or *point* in it that is called the planet's exaltation, and the point 180° distant its dejection, as is illustrated by the following list:

<i>Planets</i>	<i>Exaltation</i>	<i>Dejection</i>
The sun	Aries 19°	Libra 19°
The moon	Taurus 3°	Scorpio 3°
Saturn	Libra 21° (20° <sup>12</sup> )	Aries 21° (20°)
Jupiter	Cancer 15°	Capricorn 15°
Mars	Capricorn 28°	Cancer 28°
Venus	Pisces 27°	Virgo 27°
Mercury	Virgo 15°	Pisces 15°

<sup>9</sup> *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (Münster, 1907), I, 39-40: VI, "Eine Lehrprobe aus der babylonischen Astronomenschule."

<sup>10</sup> See footnote 7. Undoubtedly, the Babylonian term *inamar* here indicates the exaltation, not, as otherwise, the heliacal rising of a planet: *Mulu-babar ina Pulukki inamar* = "Jupiter has his exaltation in Cancer," etc. The

sun and the moon are not mentioned in this text.

<sup>11</sup> *P. Mich.* 149, published and translated in *Michigan Papyri*, ed. by J. G. Winter (Ann Arbor, 1936), III, 62-117. For the passage in question, see col. XVI, lines 28-35; instead of ὑψωμα, the term θρόνος is used there.

<sup>12</sup> Pliny, Firmicus Maternus, and the Hindu astrologer Varāhamihira assume Saturn's exaltation to be at



It is not difficult to tell why a planet's exaltation thus was limited to a mathematical point instead of a whole sign of  $30^\circ$ : without this restriction, it would be impossible to calculate a horoscope, because the calculation could of course be based on the system of the domicilia just as well as on that of the exaltations, and two entirely different, contradictory prognostications would be the result; but with the restriction this ambiguity is completely avoided because then the logical rule will be that the degree of influence exercised by a planet when standing in its *domicilium* is only surpassed by the one attained in the moment of the planet's transit through its point of exaltation.

Less clear is the question as to the reasons these, and no other, points of the signs con-

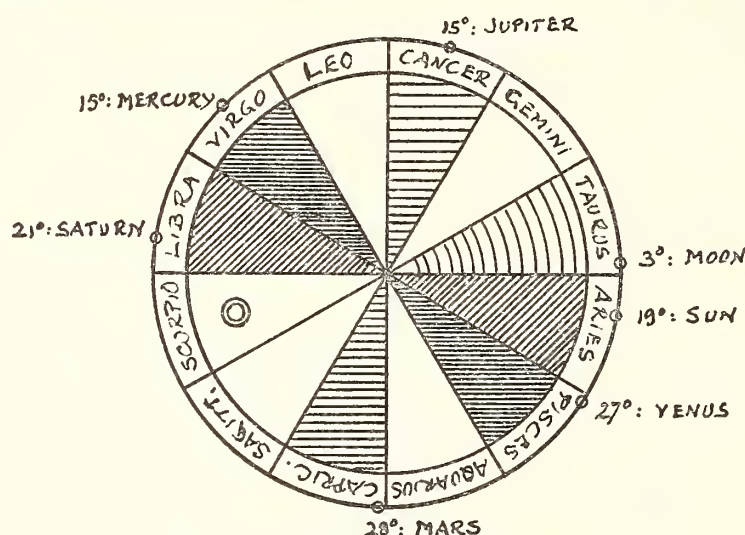


FIG. 4—THE PLANETS' EXALTATIONS

cerned were chosen. That there is at least no obvious regularity will be evident from Figure 4, which allows a clearer insight into the spatial distribution of the points in question than does the list given above.

As regards the choice of the signs themselves, a certain consistency may be recognized. The sun is exalted in Aries because his conjunction with this constellation introduced, during the second and first millennia B.C., the light half of the solar (or lunisolar) year, or even, in most of the ancient calendar systems, the year itself (cf. the Babylonian month *Nisannu*, starting the year about the time of the vernal equinox, and the Persian *Nawrūz*). Accordingly, the sun's dejection must be in Libra, that stands at the beginning of the dark half of the year. Saturn, being the "coldest" planet, simply plays the role of a nocturnal countersun and, therefore, has his exaltation where the sun is dejected, and vice-versa. Jupiter and Mars being strong antagonists, the former a thoroughly lucky, the latter a thoroughly unlucky, planet,

Libra  $20^\circ$ , and his dejection at Aries  $20^\circ$ . This is the only point on which there is no perfect agreement among

astrologers.

occupy two signs diametrically opposite. As to Mercury and Venus, the reasons for their exaltations being in opposite signs are less evident because Mercury, whose influence can be lucky as well as unlucky, is not the direct antagonist of the lucky planet Venus, although, of course, this may have been the case in an earlier period of astrology. Finally, the moon's exaltation in Taurus undoubtedly has its source in a very old tradition or mythological conception according to which the moon was inseparably connected with the bull. Innumerable representations on seals since the fourth millennium B.C. bear witness to this fact, and, according to al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*,<sup>13</sup> even the Harrānian idolaters, in whose religion undoubtedly a great part of ancient oriental ideas and customs survived, still used to sacrifice and eat a bull in honor of their goddess, the Moon, on the sixth day of the first month (Nīsān) of their year.

We have described the almost perfect symmetry that characterizes the system of the domicilia. But the system of exaltations and dejections is governed also by a rather strong symmetry, the only difference being that the domicilia are arranged symmetrically in relation to an axis, the main diameter, whereas the exaltations and dejections are arranged in relation to a point, the center of the zodiacal circle. Six of the twelve signs—Aries, Cancer, Virgo, Libra, Capricorn, and Pisces—are both exaltations and dejections. Taurus is exaltation, the opposite Scorpio is dejection only. There remain two pairs of opposite signs, viz., Gemini and Sagittarius, and Leo and Aquarius, that are neither the one nor the other, as far as the seven planets are concerned.

#### THE FIRST SEVEN DJAZĪRA RELIEFS—A BREACH OF THE ASTROLOGICAL RULES

As may be seen, the pictures and inscriptions of the first seven reliefs of the Djazīra bridge really refer to the astrological system of the exaltations, as van Berchem and Herzfeld have pointed out. One remarkable exception escaped the attention of both authors: the fourth relief represents the constellation of Leo surmounted by the sun, and the inscription: الشمس شرفها الاسد designates *Leo as the exaltation of the sun!* This is a mistake, a statement contradictory to the elementary rules of astrology which teach that Aries, not Leo, is the exaltation of the sun. What the artist represented is not the sun's exaltation, but *domicilium*, whereas, in all the other reliefs, he proves to be perfectly conversant with the iron laws of the astrological doctrine. It is not too hard to trace the probable cause of this extraordinary *lapsus memoriae*. As I have indicated above (p. 115), the combination of the lion and the sun can be traced back to a remote antiquity, as far as the fourth millennium B.C., when the heliacal rising<sup>14</sup> of the constellation Leo took place about the time of summer solstice. Thenceforth, the lion was considered a decidedly solar animal; the sun's *domicilium* in Leo and the late Persian emblem—the lion surmounted by the sun—are only two out of many examples that bear witness to the extraordinary strength of this venerable tradition. No doubt it was

<sup>13</sup> Book IX, Chap. V.

<sup>14</sup> The apparent inconsistency between this passage and the one above (p. 118) is explained in such a way that, in the earliest period of astronomy, only annual

risings and settings of stars can have been observed, the conception of conjunctions of the sun with stars requiring a much more advanced stage of astronomical knowledge and abstract thinking.



for this very reason that the artist failed just in this instance, while in the case of the other pictures there existed no similar associations of ideas that might have interfered with his astrological erudition.

#### THE EIGHTH DJAZĪRA RELIEF—THE DJAWZAHR

Herzfeld had recognized the figure of Sagittarius and the word *Djawzahr*, which I have shown must be the name of the “eighth planet,” as it cannot refer to the sign of Sagittarius. The figure of the (in reality invisible) “planet” is in a better state of preservation than are the figures of most of its brilliant celestial companions represented here. It appears to be a terrifying dragon’s head whose serpentine neck and truncated body end in a knot. How does this fit in with literary references?

In the first place, I quote from dictionaries and encyclopedias:

1. Steingass’ *Persian-English Dictionary* (page 378): “جوزهر *jauzahr*, the Dragon’s head and tail; the sphere of the moon; a comet.”

2. Vullers’ *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (II, 1046), gives two Persian equivalents of the Arabicized form جوزهر :

- a) “گوزچهر , cometa, ar. جوزهر . Sed جوزهر est forma arabica vocis persicae q.v.”
- b) “گوزهر , unde ar. جوزهر , caput et cauda draconis in orbe lunae.”

3. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārizmī’s *Mafātīḥ al-‘Ulūm*:

الجوزهر هو النقطتان اللتان تقاطع عليهما الدائرتان من الافلاك \* تسميان العقدين والجوزهر كلمة فارسية وهي گوزچهر ای صورة الجوز وقيل \* گوی چهر ای صورة الكرة والاول اصح ويسمى ايضا التنين وهذا صورته في الاصل واحدى العقدين تسمى الراس والاخرى الذنب وهذا في كل فلکین يتقاطعان فاذا اطلق له هذا الاسم \* عنى به جوزهر القمر خاصة وهذا الذى يثبت حسابه في التقويم

al-*Djawzahr*.<sup>15</sup> The two points at which (the) two [great] circles of the sphere intersect; they are called the two nodes (i.e., knots). Al-*Djawzahr* is a Persian word, viz., *gawz-čīhr*, i.e., ‘the figure of the nut,’ or also, *gūy-čīhr*, i.e., ‘the figure of the globe’; the former reading is the better one. It is also called al-Tinnīn (i.e., ‘the giant dragon’), and such is his figure in the original copy.<sup>16</sup> The former of the two nodes is called ‘the head,’ and the latter, ‘the tail’; and this (viz., a *Djawzahr*) is found in any pair of intersecting great circles. When the term is used in an absolute sense, it has the special significance of *Djawzahr* of the moon, the calculation of which is established in the calendar.<sup>17</sup>

As is seen, Steingass’ and Vullers’ interpretations are almost identical.<sup>18</sup> According to the latter, there are two original Persian words: گوزچهر , meaning “comet,” and گوزهر , meaning “dragon’s head and tail,” both of which have coincided in the Arabicized form, جوزهر . In contradiction to this opinion, the Khwarazmian author of the *Mafātīḥ al-‘Ulūm*, who undoubtedly spoke Persian as his mother tongue, mentions only the one significance: “the dragon’s

<sup>15</sup> The vocalization is not fixed. Some manuscripts read “*Djawzahar*,” others “*Djawzahir*,” sometimes even “*Djawzahirr*,” with a *tashdīd* on the final letter *rā*.

<sup>16</sup> The copyist omits to reproduce the dragon’s figure in his text.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), p. ۲۲.

<sup>18</sup> Steingass’ second equivalent, “the sphere of the moon,” is an obvious mistake; the passage ought to read (cf. Vullers): “The Dragon’s head and tail in the sphere of the moon.”

head and tail"; and for this he suggests the etymology گوزچهر, which Vullers indicates to be a Persian term for "comet." What we may conclude from this confusion is that both گوزچهر and کوزهر are rather unusual words in Persian and that the two are most likely nothing but variants of one and the same original word, which may have the two different meanings: (1) "the dragon's head and tail," (2) "a comet."

It is obviously the former of the two meanings that bears upon our planet figure. "The Dragon's head and tail" is a well-known astronomical term, which has survived even in modern astronomical terminology. Although a little obsolete, the expression "dragon's head," represented by the symbol  $\Omega$ , is still in use for the *ascending node of the moon's orbit*<sup>19</sup> and, correspondingly, the "dragon's tail" ( $\vartheta$ ) for its descending node. And the time which elapses between two subsequent transits of the moon through one and the same node—on an average 27 days, 5 hours, and 5.6 minutes—is to this day commonly called a "dracontic month," a period of time of essential importance for the calculation of solar and lunar eclipses.

As to the Arabic reference, there is no doubt that the general definition of *Djawzahr* given in the beginning of the passage is only secondary, and that the term originally was applied to the nodes of the moon's orbit exclusively. The question of the etymology of the word *Djawzahr* will have to be dealt with extensively in another connection.

Neither of the two etymologies suggested by the author can be regarded as strictly convincing. It seems a priori much more probable—and I am going to support my theory by some more concrete arguments—that the first component of the word *Djawzahr* is the Persian *gāw*, "cow," or "ox," reminiscent of the moon's mythological relationship to the Bovidae (p. 119). If we adopt Abū 'Abd Allāh's derivation of the second component (which is undoubtedly correct), the meaning of *Djawzahr*, as seen from the modern Persian viewpoint, would be "*gāw-čīhr*," i.e., "the bull-shaped" or "the bull-face,"<sup>20</sup> alluding perhaps to a bull-horned serpent or dragon, or some other horned animal. Such monsters appear in an early period—I refer the reader to the various types of horned serpents or dragons on the Babylonian kudurrus, or the horned quadrupeds on prehistoric painted pottery (as for instance that of Tepe Siyalk<sup>21</sup>), frequently accompanied by other lunar symbols, or the horned serpents found on Susian seals.<sup>22</sup> They are also encountered in literature, and it will be sufficient to quote a particularly famous passage where the horned dragon again presents itself, together with the sun, the moon, and

<sup>19</sup> The great circle of the moon's orbit intersects with that of the sun's orbit (i.e., the ecliptic) at two diametrically opposite points called "nodes." The one in which the moon passes from southern to northern latitudes is called the ascending, the other the descending node.

<sup>20</sup> As will be seen later, the problem is not at all exhausted by this translation (cf. pp. 153–54).

<sup>21</sup> See R. Ghirshman, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Tépé Sialk, près de Kashan," *Syria*, XVI (1935), Pls. XLII–XLIII. On most of the vessels from

"Necropolis B" (twelfth or eleventh century B.C.) horse-like animals with horns in the shape of a crescent are represented, sometimes with a sun symbol above the animal's back. The accompanying ornaments—sharp points and crescents—undoubtedly have to be interpreted as lunar symbols.

<sup>22</sup> See P. Toscanne, "Études sur le serpent," *Mém. Délégation en Perse* (Paris, 1911), XII, 166, Figs. 252 and 254.



the stars, this time unambiguously in a strict antagonism to the astral bodies: the Revelation of St. John, Chapter 12: 1-4, one of the favorite motifs of Renaissance painters:

And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

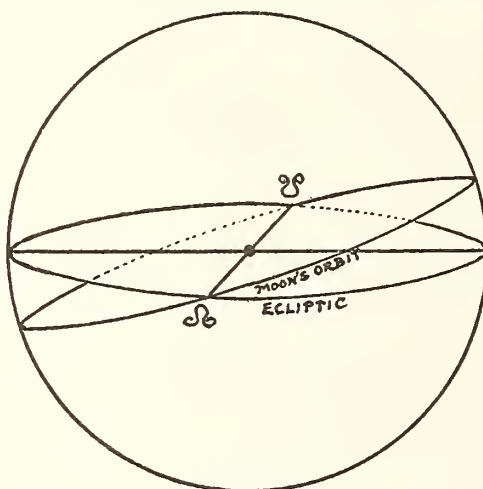


FIG. 5—THE NODES OF THE MOON'S ORBIT

#### THE NODES OF THE MOON'S ORBIT

What is most essential to us here is to have established the identity of the *Djawzahr* with the nodes of the moon's orbit. We may now say a few words about the astronomical significance of these fictitious points.<sup>23</sup>

The great circle of the moon's orbit is inclined, at an angle of about  $5^\circ$ , to that of the ecliptic (*Fig. 5*). The two nodes, i.e., the points of intersection of these circles, are of a special astronomical interest for the reason that whenever a conjunction, or opposition, of the sun and the moon (i.e., new moon, or full moon, respectively) takes place in or near them, there will occur a solar, or lunar, eclipse. These nodes are not invariably connected with a fixed point of the ecliptic, but have a constant motion of their own, contrary to that of the sun, the moon, and the planets. In other words, they travel slowly from Aries through Pisces, Aquarius, etc., back to the sign of departure, taking about eighteen and a half years to make a complete revolution through all the signs of the zodiac. Hence, also, the eclipses themselves gradually

<sup>23</sup> Cf. footnote 19.





FROM PREUSSER

FIG. 2.—RELIEFS ON THE TIGRIS BRIDGE OF DJAZĪRAT IBN 'UMAR, SECOND HALF OF TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.





FIG. 6



FIG. 7

INDIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NINE PLANETS (NAVAGRAHA)  
 PROBABLY EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES A.D.  
 LUCKNOW, MUSEUM, AND WORCESTER, MASS., ART MUSEUM





FIG. 8



FIG. 9

INDIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NINE PLANETS (NAVAGRAHA)  
 NINTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES A.D.  
 CALCUTTA, MUSEUM (Nos. 4168 AND 4167) AND MATHURĀ MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY





COURTESY OF THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

FIG. 11—THE FIRST FOUR PLANETS' EXALTATIONS AND DEJECTIONS. FROM A  
TURKISH MANUSCRIPT, 990 H. (1582 A.D.)  
NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY





COURTESY OF THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

FIG. 12—THE LAST FOUR PLANETS' EXALTATIONS AND DEJECTIONS. FROM A  
TURKISH MANUSCRIPT, 990 H. (1582 A.D.)  
NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY



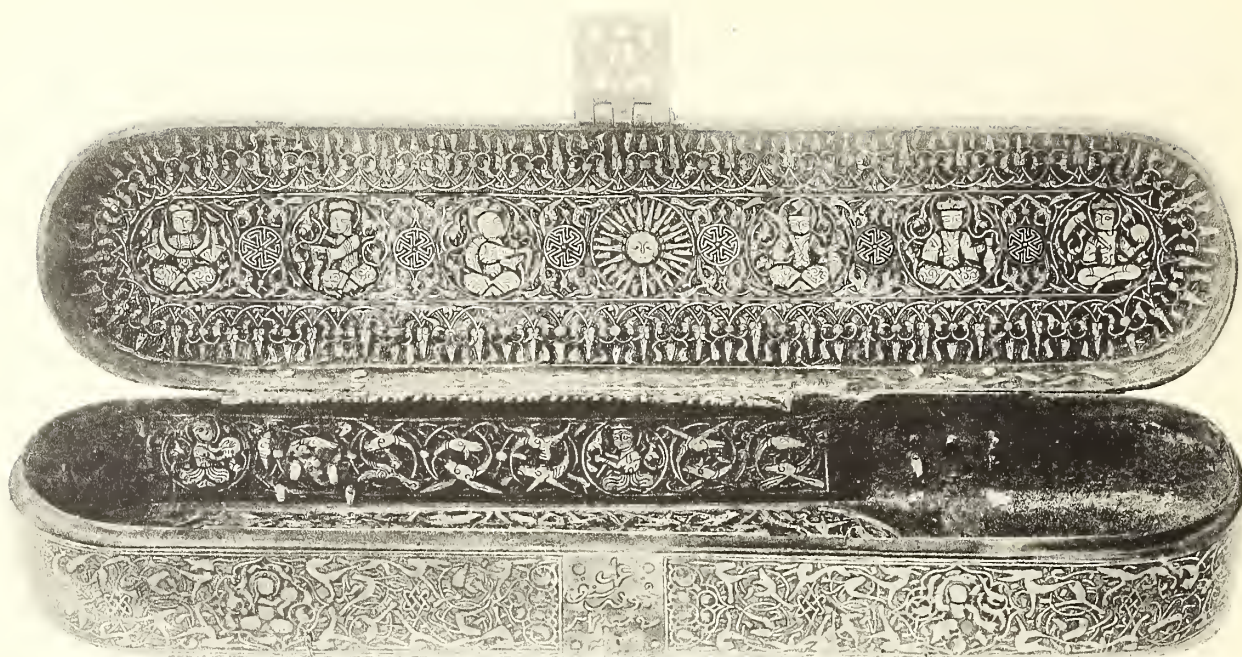


FIG. 13

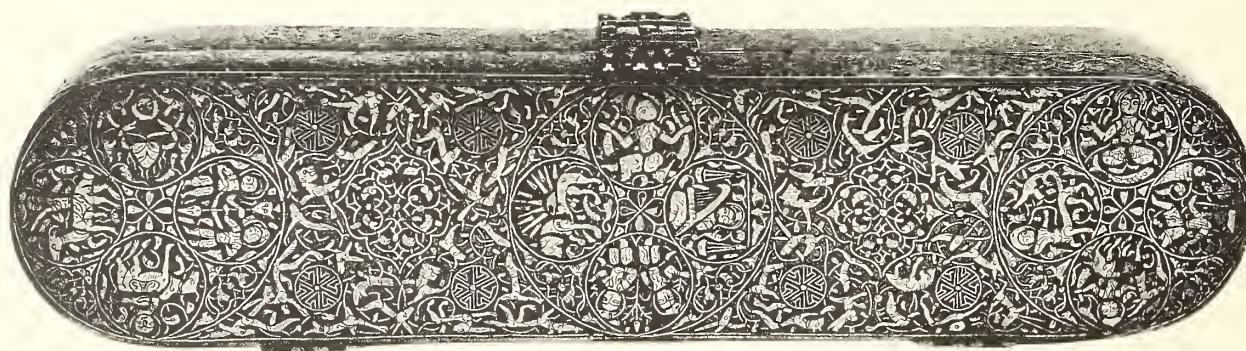


FIG. 14

FROM *A Survey of Persian Art*

KALAM BOX MADE BY MAHMŪD IBN SUNKUR, PERSIA, 608 H. (1211-12 A.D.)  
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM





FIG. 16—SAGITTARIUS WITH THE DRAGON, PERSIA  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



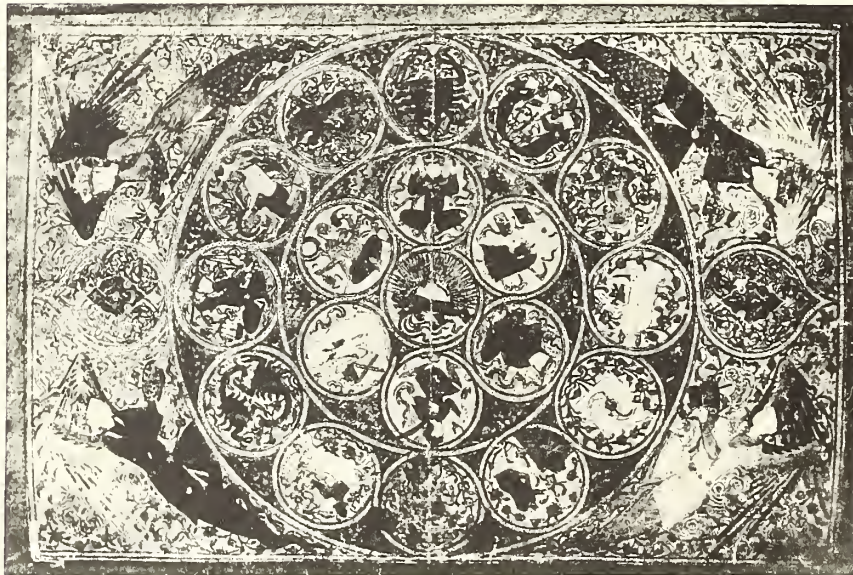
FIG. 17



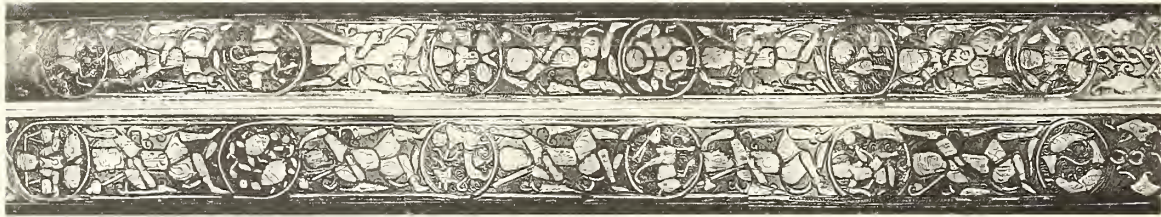
FIG. 18 FROM A Survey of Persian Art

FIGS. 17-18—CENTAURUS AND LUPUS (SABU' REPRESENTED AS LION), AND THE SYMBOLS  
OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, BAGHDAD SCHOOL (?), FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LENINGRAD, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES





FROM KÜHNEL  
FIG. 19—THE WORLD MIRROR, PERSIA, HERAT  
SCHOOL, FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
FORMERLY IN ISTANBUL, LIBRARY OF THE SULTAN



FROM GUNTHER  
FIG. 20—RIM OF AN ASTROLABE  
OXFORD, OLD ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM



COURTESY OF THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY  
FIG. 21—THE CONSTELLATION OF SAGITTARIUS. FROM  
A TURKISH MANUSCRIPT, 990 H. (1582 A.D.)  
NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY



change their position relative to the zodiac: if, for instance, in a certain year the ascending node be in Aries, and the descending in Libra, eclipses will take place in these two signs; but after four or five years the nodes will be in Capricorn and Cancer, respectively, and consequently eclipses will then occur there.

#### THE ECLIPSE MONSTER: DRAGON, DJAWZAHR, AND RĀHU-KETU

It need hardly be said that the knowledge of great circles, nodes, etc., marks a highly developed stage of abstract thinking and thus belongs to a very late period in the history of astronomy. To the primitive mind eclipses are supernatural phenomena caused by a horrifying monster which swallows the sun or the moon whenever its magic power prevails over that of the celestial gods. As to the nature of this great antagonist of light and life, there rules an astounding agreement among the peoples, as most of them suppose it to be a giant snake, or dragon, menacing the great luminaries, and devouring them at certain irregular intervals. The Apocalyptic dragon, symbol of Satan, is evidently closely related to this monster, as is the Tinnīn of the Arabs, referred to by Abū 'Abd Allāh, the Djawzahr of the Persians, and in Hindu mythology, the ill-fated demon Rāhu, whose famous story I venture to recall to the reader's mind: it was he who, previous to the churning of the milk ocean, commanded the demons, then allied with the celestial gods in the struggle against the world serpent, Ananta. After the victorious event, he succeeded in an unguarded moment in sipping the amrita drink; but the sun and the moon, who had watched his crime, denounced him to the gods, and instantly Vishnu, approaching in haste, severed his head from his body. Nevertheless, the amrita had already produced its effect and rendered him immortal like the celestials. Consequently, Rāhu's head as well as his body, Ketu, intransigent enemies of the two great luminaries, ever since try to devour the sun and the moon whenever occasion serves, and thus cause solar and lunar eclipses. In addition to this, Ketu also causes comets, like eclipses ill-omened phenomena, to appear among the stars, or perhaps we may rather say that Ketu's tail now and then takes the shape of a comet and thus becomes visible to the human eye.

We might suppose that clear insight into the physical causes of eclipses would have thrown the mythological tradition into the background. But this has not been the case. What we observe is that the mythological and the astronomical elements contract an intimate fusion. The nodes of the moon's orbit are simply identified with the eclipse monster itself: with the Hindus, Rāhu becomes the ascending, Ketu the descending node; with the Persians and Arabs, the head and the tail of the Djawzahr play the same role.

#### THE NODES AS PLANETS

The last step in this evolution is logical enough. If we remember that the two nodes constantly change their position with regard to the fixed stars, making a complete revolution in the course of eighteen and a half years, the parallel with the planets certainly suggests itself. As a matter of fact, in Hindu as well as in Islamic astrology these nodes often have decidedly planetary characters and properties. In respect to their period of revolution they rank be-



tween Jupiter (about twelve years) and Saturn (about thirty years), although, it must be recalled, the direction of their motion is opposite to that of all the other "real" planets.

It is hard to tell when and where this promotion to planetary rank took place. I am inclined to believe that, although a certain like tendency seems to have existed in later Hellenistic astrology,<sup>24</sup> the idea was fully developed only in India. There, in the sixth century A.D., Varāhamihira, in his *Brhatsamhitā* (5.1 ff.), discusses the Rāhu-Ketu myth in connection with the nodes of the moon and the scientific theory of the eclipses; and the nine planets (*navagraha*), including Rāhu and Ketu in parity with the orthodox seven, appear on very early Indian sculptures, such as are represented in Figure 6,<sup>25</sup> considerably earlier than any trace of such "additional" planets can be found in Islamic iconographies. More accurately speaking, the reliefs of Djazīrat ibn 'Umar are the earliest example known to me in which an Islamic artist obviously grants the same rights to one or both of these pseudoplanets as to the seven real ones, while in India this had been the rule centuries before (*Figs. 7-9*<sup>26</sup>). In the early Hindu astrological literature, it is true, the planetary character of the moon's nodes was not yet decidedly marked, although the information obtained from the passage in Varāhamihira's work seem to bear witness to the existence of such an interpretation. At any rate, the lack of clearness that can be discerned in these early literary references does not at all disprove my assumption that even in the sixth or seventh century the Hindus commonly interpreted the nodes as planets because, as I have said, astrologers obviously felt a bit uneasy about these pseudoplanets and disliked speaking of them outright, whereas artists, not being bound by any such psychological inhibitions, freely and easily represented the nine planets alto-

<sup>24</sup> The earliest astrological reference to the moon's nodes is found about fifty years after Ptolemy in Tertullian's (d. circa 230 A.D.) *In Marcion.*, Chap. I, 18: "Fortasse et Anabibazon obstabat aut aliqua malefica stella, Saturnus quadratus aut Mars trigonus" (cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* [Paris, 1899], p. 122, note 1). In this passage, the expression *aut aliqua malefica stella*, shows clearly that the Anabibazon is not a planet (*stella*) like Saturn or Mars.

\**Ἀναβιβάζων* and *καταβιβάζων* (scil. *συνδεσμός*) are the ordinary astronomical terms for the ascending and descending nodes. The "dragon" is assuredly not of Greek, but of Oriental origin. To cite Bouché-Leclercq literally (*op. cit.*, p. 122: "Les Grecs du Bas-Empire et surtout les Arabes firent grand état des nœuds écliptiques, appelés la Tête Ω et la Queue Ξ du Dragon. Cette notoriété du Dragon chez les Grecs d'Asie et les Arabes est à elle seule un indice. On sait que le pôle par excellence était pour les Chaldéens le pôle de l'écliptique, lequel est dans la constellation du Dragon. Le Dragon

devait être Anou lui-même."

According to Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.*, pp. 508-9) the \**Ἀναβιβάζων* figures in the horoscope of Proclus (Marin., *Vita Procli*, 35), who was born in 410, but this isolated reference does not necessarily imply that the ascending node was generally recognized as a planet like the other seven. Indeed, the conception of the nine planets enjoying equal rights seems to be a generalization which originated in India.

<sup>25</sup> Original in the Lucknow Museum. See B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images* (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 31-33 and Pl. XXII.

<sup>26</sup> Figure 7, original in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. The figure of Ketu (at the extreme right) is destroyed. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Nine Planets," *Bull. Worcester Art Mus.*, XIV (1923), No. 1, 6-10.

Figure 8, original in the Calcutta Museum.

Figure 9, original in the Mathurā Museum of Archaeology.

gether. But in the later medieval Indian literature all nine of them certainly enjoy equal rights, and ever since, down to our time, Hindu astrologers have attributed the same importance to Rāhu and Ketu as to the seven other planets.

In Islamic literature, also, the nodes are frequently listed with the planets, but as a rule play a minor part as compared with the other planets. Some authors, such as al-Bīrūnī (d. 440 H. [1048 A.D.]) expressly state that "they are no real planets"; there is, in particular, one passage in his *India* (Chapter LXXX) which proves that he considered the planetary interpretation of the nodes to be purely Indian, and that this concept was not at all popular in the Islamic world of his time:

Regarding the number seven as that of the planets, there is no difference between us and them. They call them *graha*. Some of them are throughout lucky, viz., Jupiter, Venus, and the moon, which are called *saumyagraha*. Other three are throughout unlucky, viz., Saturn, Mars, and the sun, which are called *krūragraha*. Among the latter they also count the dragon's head, though in reality it is not a star.<sup>27</sup>

In his work on astrology<sup>28</sup> the same author nevertheless treats the nodes as planets, as is evident from the fact that, in dealing with the planets' exaltations, he mentions that the exaltation (*sharaf*) of the dragon's head is in Gemini 3°, and that of the tail, in Sagittarius 3°. This means that one of the two pairs of zodiacal signs which, in ancient astrology, remained unoccupied by planetary exaltations (p. 119), was attributed, in the enlarged medieval system, to the nodes of the moon.<sup>29</sup> This interesting statement is not isolated in the medieval astrological literature. Abū Ma'shar (d. 272 H. [886 A.D.]) refers to the same points of exaltations for the nodes of the moon, and so do contemporary and later Hindu astrologers. Moreover, in Abū Ma'shar's work on the *Great Conjunctions*<sup>30</sup> as well as in the *Flores Albumasaris*,<sup>31</sup> the nodes are listed together with the planets, and their influence when standing in the different signs of the zodiac is dealt with extensively. The Augsburg and the Venice editions of the *Great Conjunctions* both introduce the chapter treating of the planetary influence of the nodes by a very impressive figure which shows the "dragon" with its head and its tail twisted around the two nodes. On account of the peculiar importance of this representation the figure contained in the Venice edition is reproduced in Figure 10.

It is very likely that a corresponding figure already was contained in the Arabic manu-

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from E. Sachau's translation, *Alberuni's India* (London, 1910), II, 211-12.

<sup>28</sup> Abū 'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, ed. and trans. by R. Ramsey Wright (London, 1934), written in Ghazna, 1029 A.D. Reproduced from British Museum Ms. Or. 8349.

<sup>29</sup> The question, why the pair Gemini-Sagittarius, not

Leo-Aquarius, was selected for the exaltations of the nodes, will be discussed below (see pp. 147-49).

<sup>30</sup> *De magnis conjunctionibus*, etc., Latin version by Joannes Hispalensis (Augsburg, 1489; reprinted, Venice, 1515).

<sup>31</sup> *Tractatus Albumasaris florum astrologie*, probably a compilation from the *Great Conjunctions* and other works by the same author, printed in Augsburg, 1488.



script from which Johannes Hispalensis translated, but we may assume that the original looked somewhat different, as the above dragon is a typical representative of the occidental species.

In investigating a greater number of Islamic astrological texts, one has the impression that some authors deliberately ignored the planetary interpretation of the nodes, and that others obviously considered it quite a natural thing. I have not been able to decide whether or not this is due to the influence of different astrological schools. The discrepancy between the two works by al-Bīrūnī, which were composed almost simultaneously, cannot, of course, be explained by such an assumption; possibly the passage referring to the exaltations of the dragon's head and tail is a later addition made by a copyist.

The fact that the planetary character of the nodes was so perfectly developed that astrol-



FIG. 10—THE “DRAGON” TWISTED AROUND THE TWO NODES, FROM ABŪ MA’SHAR  
*De Magnis Conjunctionibus*, VENICE, 1515

ogers even attributed to them exaltations and dejections, just as to the other planets, is of essential importance, as it is the last clue to the understanding of the eighth *Djazīra* relief. It is obvious that this relief represents the figure of the planetary eclipse dragon with its sign of exaltation, Sagittarius, and it may be taken for granted that in the partly destroyed inscription the word al-Djawzahr once was followed by the words *sharafuhu al-Ḳaws* or *sharafuhu al-Rāmī*<sup>32</sup> (الجامي or الجوزهر شرفه القوس), “its exaltation is Sagittarius.” The knot in which the truncated body of the dragon is tied has also a specific significance—it refers to the “node” of the moon’s orbit, which is closely related to the dragon. That this knot is an integral part of the eclipse monster is evident also from the fact that all the navagraha reliefs quoted represent the figure of Ketu (i.e., the monster’s tail) with a “mermaid’s tail” ending in a loop or knot. The only exception is as seen on Figure 9, where Ketu’s tail is rendered straight; but here it is evidently the twined serpent under the planet figures that indicates the “node.”

<sup>32</sup> The Arabic equivalent of Sagittarius is al-Ḳaws or al-Rāmī, see p. 115.

## THE DRAGON AND THE NODE IN OTHER ISLAMIC ICONOGRAPHIES

## a) "Isolated" representations

Four pages out of an illuminated sixteenth-century Turkish astrological manuscript in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library<sup>33</sup> are reproduced in Figures 11 and 12.<sup>34</sup> There the planets' exaltations and dejections are represented in a very impressive way: Saturn, as in most similar instances, as an aged Indian, sitting under his sign of exaltation, Libra, and standing upside down on the back of his sign of dejection, Aries; correspondingly, Jupiter occurs with Cancer and Capricorn, etc. The arrangement and sequence are exactly the same as in the *Djazīra* reliefs, with the sole exception of the sun, whose exaltation is indicated correctly here (viz., Aries instead of Leo, cf. p. 119).

Thus, seven such pairs of pictures represent the exaltations and dejections of the seven great planets. But, to make the congruence with the *Djazīra* reliefs a complete one, there follows an eighth pair which represents the lunar dragon: the first picture shows a serpentine body with a dragon head on either end, intertwined with a figure consisting of a number of stars (Gemini); similarly, the second picture shows the same body forming a knot and ending in a tail on either side, between which the monster holds a drawn bow. The Turkish text accompanying these two pictures reads:

جوزاده شرف راس

The exaltation of the head is in Gemini,

and

قوسده شرف ذنب

The exaltation of the tail is in Sagittarius.

The case is clear enough in itself and needs no further explanation, but it is proper to add a few remarks.

In comparing the *Djazīra* reliefs with our manuscript, it can be seen that the former represent only the *Djawzahr* exalted in Sagittarius, whereas the latter distinguishes between the head and the tail of the dragon, attributing, as is required by the rules of medieval astrology, Gemini to the head and Sagittarius to the tail. It is not easy to answer a question as to why the artist of *Djazīrat* ibn 'Umar, having the choice between these two possibilities, decided to represent the exaltation of the dragon's tail, and to omit that of the head. Assuredly this is not due to literary influence because, in the Islamic astrological writings since the time Abū Ma'shar, a greater importance has been conceded to the head than to the tail. But the fact that, in the inscription, the Persian term "*Djawzahr*," which commonly refers to the

<sup>33</sup> *Kitāb Maṭālī' al-Sa'āda wa-Manāfi' al-Siyāda*, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. No. 788, written 990 H. (1582 A.D.). This manuscript seems to be almost identical with the Paris Bibl. Nat. Ms. supp. turc. 242, dating from the same year, and probably related to the famous Bodleian Ms. Or. 133. Unfortunately, I have not seen the latter

manuscript for several years, and I find nothing in my notes that bears upon those details which would be of interest here. This omission is owing to the fact that, by the time of my last visit to the Bodleian I had not yet recognized the importance of just those minute details.

<sup>34</sup> Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.



dragon as a whole, not to either its head or tail,<sup>35</sup> is used might even indicate that the artist-astrologer did not wish to make any such distinction. It is true that the picture of the *Djawzahr* shows only the forepart of the dragon and thus would seem to represent the head rather than the tail or the entire dragon; but it must be recalled that, on the one hand, the Indian Ketu (tail), just as well as the Rāhu (head), is usually represented with a (human) head, and, on the other, that it would have been a difficult task to render in an unambiguous way the dragon's tail alone by the side of the bow-bending centaur. The solution arrived at by the Turkish illuminator for the isolated pictures of the head and the tail would hardly have been applicable to this case.

b) "*Combined*" representations

To this point we have been considering only the iconographies in which the dragon—either the whole or one of its two parts—figures as an independent, isolated, element. There exist, however, a very great number of Islamic iconographies, to be found most frequently on Persian and Egyptian engraved metal work, but also in illuminated manuscripts, where the dragon forms an integral part of some of the zodiacal signs. I mean first and foremost the numerous representations of the zodiac, in which the single signs appear in combination with their astrological lords. Indeed, the main principle according to which the signs and planets are arranged, is always that of the domicilia; but, as will be seen, the artists almost never fail to add the dragon to the seven great planets, although it has no theoretical right to appear in this astrological system, but in that of the planetary exaltations only.

As a typical example of this class of iconographies, I have chosen an engraved Persian *ḳalam* box (*Figs. 13 and 14*) made and inscribed by Maḥmūd ibn Sunḳur in the year 608 H. (1211–12 A.D.).<sup>36</sup> The inner side of the lid shows the seven planets with their emblems, in the ordinary sequence (*viz.*, from right to left)—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the sun, Venus, Mercury, the moon. The outer side is decorated with the twelve signs of the zodiac, arranged in three circles containing four signs each, starting with Aries at the extreme left, and running counter-clockwise, as illustrated by Figure 15.

As is seen, each of the twelve signs is rendered in combination with its planet lord, symbolized either by attitude or emblem: behind the Ram stands Mars, holding a severed head in his hand; behind the Bull, Venus with the lute; of the Twins, only the one is shown (as frequently in combined as well as in isolated representations [*cf. Fig. 20*, third medal in the right-hand column]), while the other (left) figure represents Mercury holding a scroll;<sup>37</sup> over the Crab, the moon is shown; over the Lion, the sun; the Virgin, holding a corn ear,<sup>38</sup> is confronted with Mercury, with pen and scroll; under the Balance appears Venus with a harp; Mars holds in each of his hands a scorpion; the bow-bending centaur (Sagittarius) is fused

<sup>35</sup> A remarkable exception will be discussed on pp. 151–54.

<sup>36</sup> In the collection of the British Museum.

<sup>37</sup> Mercury—'Uṭārid, commonly called "the scribe" (al-Kātib).

<sup>38</sup> Virgo—al-'Adhrā' = Spica—al-Sunbula.

into one figure with Jupiter; behind the ibex (Capricorn) stands Saturn, holding in his left hand some indefinable animal—one of his manifold attributes; the figure of the water carrier (Aquarius) is again fused with the lord of the sign, Saturn, designed as a gray-headed Indian with a pickax, which is the planet-god's chief emblem; and, finally, over the Fish—there is only one (cf. the singular “al-Ḥūt” often used instead of the dual “al-Samakatāni”)—is seen Jupiter holding a vessel.<sup>39</sup>

With this description, however, the symbolical content of the example is not yet exhausted. As a matter of fact, it is not as much the seven old planets that interest us here, as the eighth, the *Djawzahr*-dragon, or rather the eighth and ninth (viz., the dragon's head and its tail). From the preceding, it is clear where one may expect to find their traces.

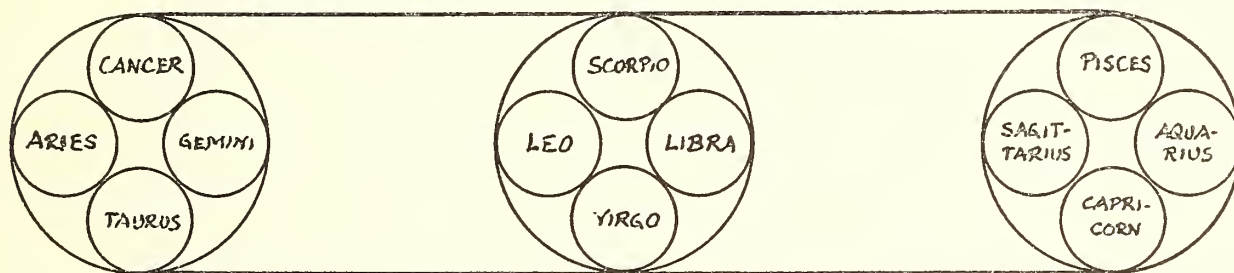


FIG. 15—ARRANGEMENT OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC ON THE KALAM BOX, 608 H. (1211–12 A.D.), LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

In the first place it will be necessary to look at the picture of Sagittarius—indeed, the parallel with the eighth relief of *Djazīrat ibn ‘Umar* is as perfect as it can be. Behind the centaur is recognized the dragon, whose serpentine body is tied into a knot, the sole variation of the *Djazīra* motif being that the dragon is no longer separated from the centaur's body but, as in all later examples known to me, simply forms his tail. In other words this particular centaur monster consists of three entirely different elements which have been fused together, viz., the original figure of the Sagittarius-centaur, Jupiter as the lord of the domicile, and the dragon's tail having its exaltation in this zodiacal sign.


In the second place, if we recall to our memory that Gemini is the sign in which the dragon's head is exalted, the curious object between the two human figures in the Gemini medal also takes on a very specific significance. It looks like a mask or monstrous head mounted on a staff. After all, there can hardly be a doubt that it symbolizes the head of the dragon. Somewhat surprising, it is true, is the fact that the face has human features and does not resemble the traditional Islamic dragon. But there is a strong similarity with another variety of our monster, viz., the colossal figure of the Indian *Rāhu* (see the *navagraha* reliefs represented on *Figs. 6–9*). Considering the close connection between the Indian and the

<sup>39</sup> All the named objects (severed head, lute, etc.) appear also, more easily distinguishable to the eye, as

attributes of the isolated planetary figures on the inner side of the lid.



Islamic conceptions of the eclipse monster, there are good reasons for assuming that this similarity was caused by direct or indirect influence of the Indian archetype.

A final minute examination of the engravings of the *ḳalam box* (which might be called a brief summary of astrology) reveals that the dragon appears in two more places: (1) the moon over the crab's claws is menaced by a pair of dragons; and (2) the lion surmounted by the radiant sun is rendered with a long tail which makes the characteristic loop under the animal's body and again ends in a dragon head. I admit that, in the latter instance, the details are not so clearly recognizable and, therefore, hasten to refer the reader to another similar example (*Fig. 1*),<sup>40</sup> which excludes any doubt. There, in the central picture of Leo, the dragon at the end of the lion's tail represents a special variety which is also sometimes encountered elsewhere (the winged dragon with forelegs [cf. *Figs. 26 and 27*]). Again, the monster is shown in a menacing attitude toward the other great luminary, the sun. As on the *ḳalam box*, the two preceding medals (first and second from the right, showing Gemini and Cancer respectively) also contain elements bearing upon the dragon—the staff with Rāhu's head between the two human figures is the same as in Figure 14. As to Cancer, the dragon itself is lacking, but it is replaced by a loop, or rather knot, under the disk of the moon, which has a very typical shape reminiscent of a "heart": <sup>41</sup> A great many examples showing this heart-shaped knot could be quoted here—as a typical representative, the picture of Sagittarius from a Persian fifteenth-century manuscript of Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* is reproduced in Figure 16.<sup>42</sup>

This combination of the moon and the sun, or their respective animals, the crab and the lion, with the dragon, evidently originates not in a doctrinal astrological conception, but in a purely mythological, or rather metaphysical, one. After a long wandering we thus suddenly find ourselves back at the point from which we started—the antagonism between the celestial luminaries and the terrestrial light-devouring dragon.

Figures 19–21<sup>43</sup> are added only for the purpose of demonstrating to the reader how consistently the same elements recur in this class of iconographies, as a *tema con mille variazioni*.

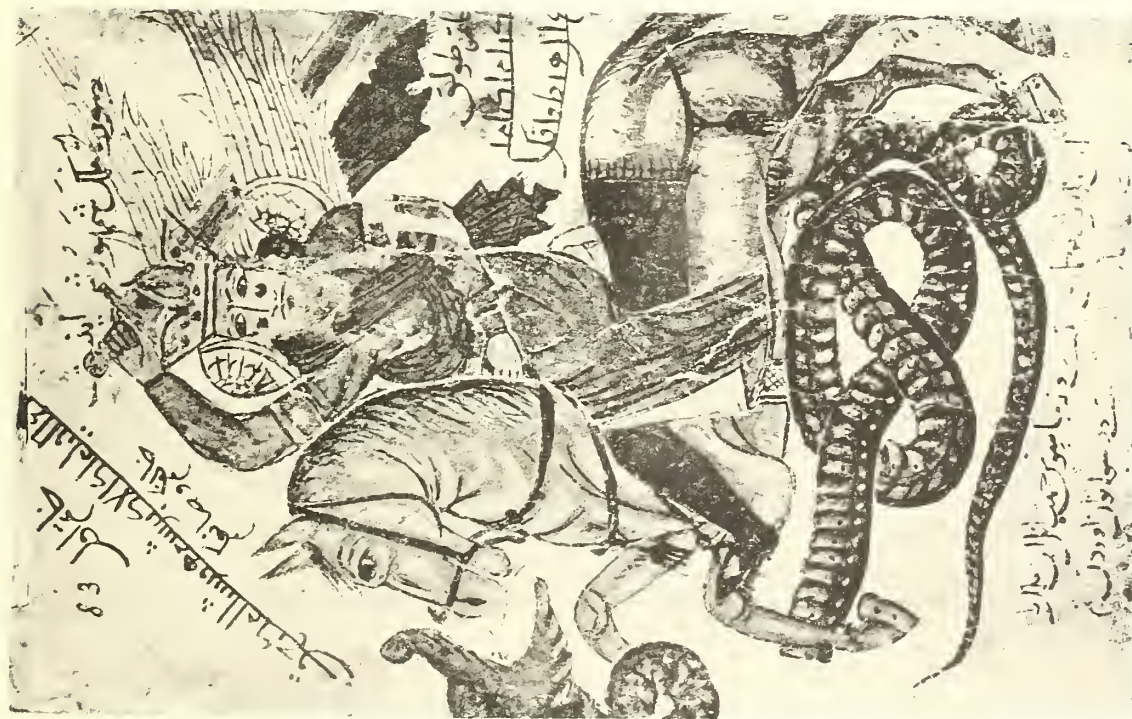
<sup>40</sup> Inlaid twelve-sided bronze vessel, Persian, late twelfth century (Museum of the Gulistan Palace), showing the signs of the zodiac and their astrological relations—closely related to the box reproduced in Figures 13 and 14. The five signs from Gemini to Libra (running from right to left) are visible on the photograph; the lion with the sun and the dragon stands in the center.

<sup>41</sup> This heart-shaped knot ending in the dragon head is encountered, above all, in illuminated manuscripts, particularly in most of the copies of Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* ("Marvels of Creation") known to me, whereas none of the manuscripts of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī's *Catalogue of the Fixed Stars* shows any trace of the dragon or the knot. Of course the astrological dragon has no right to appear in a work of purely astronomical character.

<sup>42</sup> In the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The two illustrations (*Figs. 17 and 18*), reproduced from another Ḳazwīnī ms. in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, show that the original significance of the dragon and the knot finally has fallen into oblivion in such a way that the artist adds it to the tails of all kinds of animals, or even to their wings. It must be well observed that the top figure of Figure 17 is not Sagittarius, but the southern constellation of the Centaur. The combination with the dragon is preposterous, and equally meaningless is the knot in the tail of the "Bull of St. Lucas" in Figure 18.

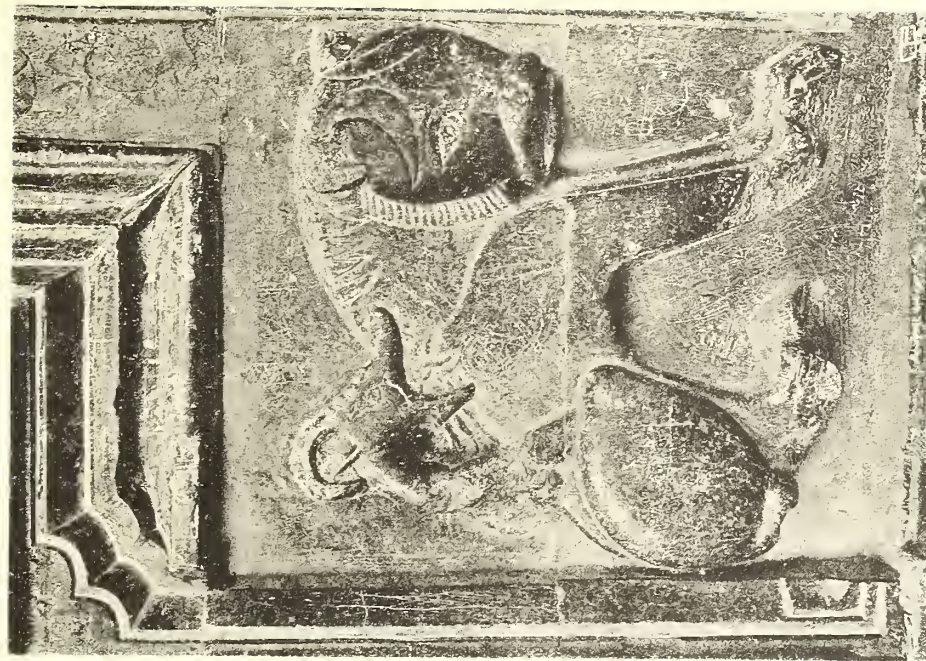
<sup>43</sup> Figure 19, "The World-Mirror," Herat, fifteenth-century Persian miniature, formerly in the Library of the Sultan, Istanbul; reproduced from E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. 41.





FROM BLOCHET

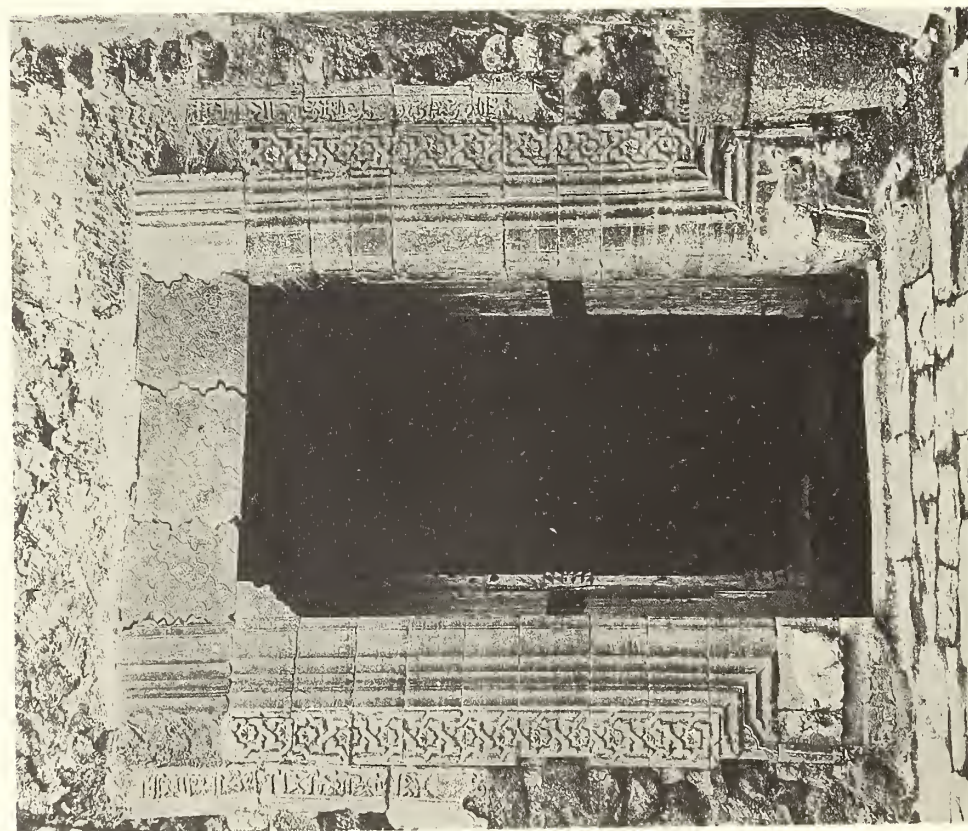
FIG. 22—THE ANGEL SHAMHURASH FIGHTING THE  
DRAGON, 670-71 H. (1272 A.D.)  
 PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



FROM PREUSSER

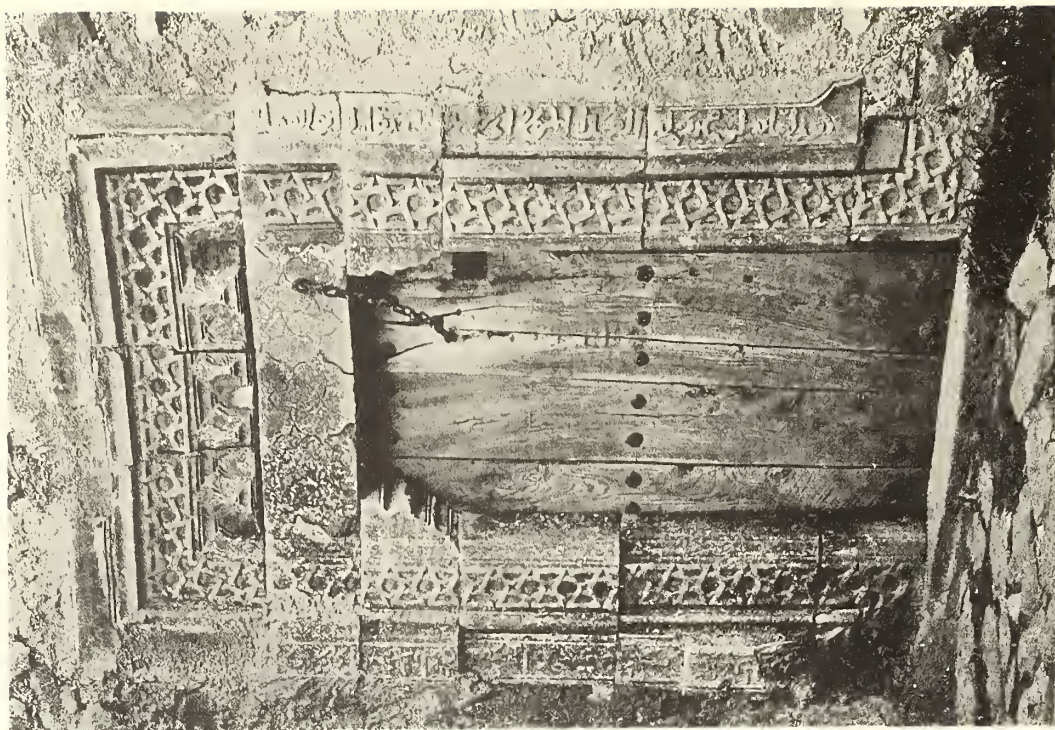
FIG. 23—LION RELIEF AT THE MEN'S ENTRANCE  
DJAZIRAT IBN 'UMAR, JACOBITE CHURCH





FROM PREUSSER

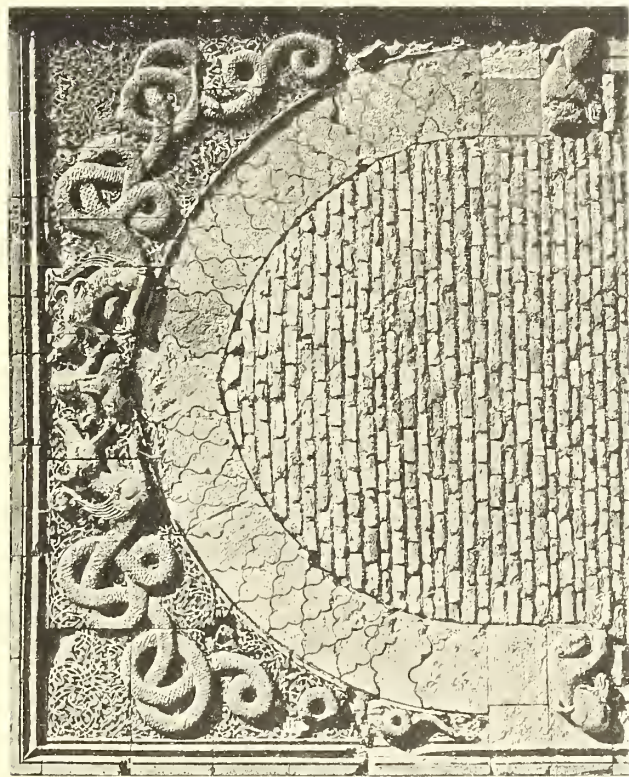
FIG. 24—MEN'S ENTRANCE, DJAZIRAT IBN 'UMAR  
CHALDAEAN CHURCH



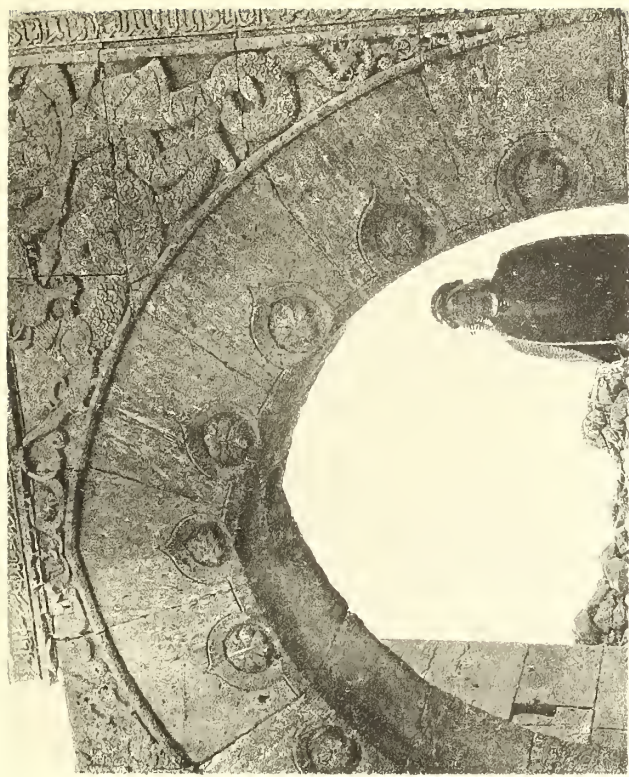
FROM PREUSSER

FIG. 25—WOMEN'S ENTRANCE, DJAZIRAT IBN 'UMAR  
CHALDAEAN CHURCH





FROM PREUSSER  
FIG. 26—SECTION OF THE OLD TALISMAN GATE, BAGHDAD



FROM PREUSSER  
FIG. 28—GATEWAY OF AL-KHĀN, NEAR THE SINDJĀR MOUNTAINS



FROM PREUSSER  
FIG. 27—MAIN ENTRANCE, KHIDR ELIĀS, CHURCH



FROM PREUSSER  
FIG. 29—GATEWAY, CITADEL OF ALEPPO



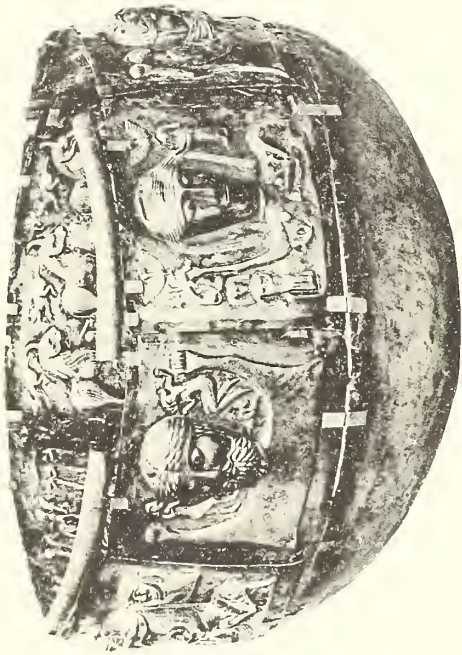


FIG. 30

TWO VIEWS OF THE GUNDESTRUP KETTLE, COPENHAGEN, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 31

FROM W. A. VON JENNY



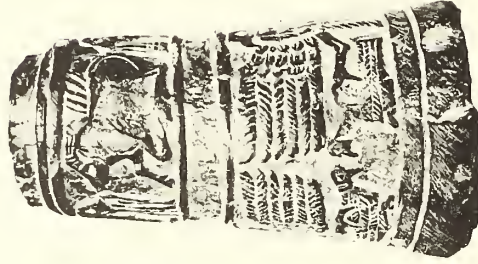
FIG. 32



FIG. 33

FROM W. A. VON JENNY

SILVER PLATES, GUNDESTRUP KETTLE



FROM *Délégation en Perse*

FIG. 34—VASE, SECOND PERIOD OF SUSA, PARIS  
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Sagittarius with the dragon at the end of his tail is contained in all three of them. The knot is missing only in the Turkish miniature—maybe the artist was not aware of its essential importance. The fifteenth-century Persian “World Mirror” is interesting from several viewpoints. The artist obviously intended to create an “isolated” representation of the planets and the signs of the zodiac, but the strength of the astrological tradition forced him to make some remarkable exceptions. Thus, the sun in the center of the composition is mounted on the back of the lion, forming, as we have seen, an almost inseparable unity. Furthermore, the picture of the Virgin is replaced by Mercury, the lord of the sign, mowing the corn ear (al-Sunbula, “spica”) with a sickle; and, again, the person who holds the balance is undoubtedly Venus. In this picture the representation of the head and the tail of the dragon in Gemini and Sagittarius, respectively, is even more impressive than elsewhere, on account of the circular arrangement of the twelve signs, by which the two symbols correctly appear on diametrically opposite places of the zodiac.

Figure 22<sup>44</sup> shows a Persian version of the St. George motif—the angel Shamhūrash fighting the dragon. Although it has absolutely no astrological significance,<sup>45</sup> I ventured to add it to the other iconographies because it demonstrates the enormous influence which these astrological ideas exercised upon medieval artists. The reader will easily recognize the complete identity of this dragon with its astrological relatives.

I turn once more to the place whence the investigation started, Djazīrat ibn ‘Umar, as it certainly would be a serious omission not to take into account a number of other iconographies found in the region of Djazīra, and south to Baghdad, and west to Aleppo, which bear directly upon our subject. In fact, there is hardly any other part of the Islamic world which is so rich in iconographical references to the dragon myth with all of its manifold variations. It will also be evident that dragon motives were not confined to Islamic monuments, but were used equally by Christian artists. This, however, cannot be surprising if it is remembered that during the Middle Ages astrology was simply the great international means of understanding among the adherents of all possible religions, Muhammadans, Christians, Jews, and “pagans.”

In Figures 23–24<sup>46</sup> are seen the well-known lions whose tails end in dragon heads (cf.

Figure 20, inlaid rim (showing the twelve signs of the zodiac separated by figures of warriors) of an astrolabe, made by Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Rāshidī al-Ibarī (the “Needlemaker”) of Isfahan, 618 H. (1221–22 A.D.); reproduced from R. T. Gunther, *The Astrolabes of the World* (Oxford, 1932), I, Pl. XVI; original in the Old Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Lewis Evans collection).

Figure 21, picture of Sagittarius (with the lord of the domicile, Jupiter, in the background), from the Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. No. 788. (Photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.) See footnote 33.

<sup>44</sup> Figure 22, the angel Shamhūrash fighting the dragon,

from Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad al-Sīwāsī, *Daḳā’iḳ al-Ḥaḳā’iḳ*, written in 1272 A.D. (670–71 H.), in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Ancien fonds persan 174). Reproduced from E. Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux* (Paris, 1926), Pl. XIX.

<sup>45</sup> This assertion is perhaps exaggerated. Of course, St. George and the dragon symbolize the antagonism of the light, celestial (sun), and the dark, terrestrial, principles. Hence, the motif is rather closely related to the mentioned dragon-tailed lion combined with the sun. But, as we have said, this is not an astrological but a metaphysical conception.

<sup>46</sup> Figure 23, one of the lion reliefs at the men’s entrance to the Jacobite church of Djazīrat ibn ‘Umar.



*Fig. 1*). It is remarkable that in both instances only the men's entrances to the (Christian) churches are decorated in this way; of course, the lion, with or without its solar relationship, is the manly animal, κατ' ἐξοχήν, and no metaphysical threads whatever could possibly lead from it over to the female sex. On the former picture, the dragon's head is represented with a curved horn. This particular feature reminds us of the description of the apocalyptic dragon threatening the sun and the moon or even of the horned serpents on Susian seals.<sup>47</sup> In most of the preceding examples, the minuteness of the objects represented makes it impossible to decide whether the dragons are horned or not. But of the following four pictures, two clearly represent the dragons' heads with one or two curved horns (viz., the Bāb al-Ṭilasm at Baghdad and the gateway of al-Khān near the Sindjār Mountains. By way of parenthesis I should like to mention in this connection that the Chinese dragon also belongs to the horned species).

Figure 26<sup>48</sup> shows the lion-and-dragon decoration of the Talisman Gate of Baghdad. The lions have no dragons' tails; each of the two dragons which menace the new-born child—symbol of the new moon—is represented with wings and the two forelegs (cf. p. 138 and *Fig. 1*) and, as pointed out before, with a pair of horns. The dragons' bodies are tied in two typical knots and end in loops.

Figure 27 shows a similar arrangement of motifs, found over the main entrance to the church of Khidr Eliās, a place near the ancient Nimrūd. Only the left lion's tail carries a dragon's head. The two intertwined unhorned dragons in the center of the architrave threaten to devour some indefinable objects (men or animals?).

In Figure 28,<sup>49</sup> again, another version of the St. George motif is given. Figure 29 shows the pair of intertwined dragons, but this time with a head at either end of the serpentine body, which is tied in three knots of the characteristic shape. The addition of a solar symbol (encircled eight-pointed star) is remarkable; around it the lower neck and head of the dragon is twisted. It expresses the same idea as the solar lion with the dragon's tail.

#### EXCURSUS ON THE CELTIC SILVER KETTLE OF GUNDESTRUP

The famous Celtic vessel, found near Gundestrup in North Jutland in the year 1891, and described by Sophus Müller in the first volume of *Nordiske Fortidsminder*,<sup>50</sup> has been, for the reason of its extraordinary images and ornaments, the object of a number of learned discussions. In spite of Müller's serious admonition "to abstain from giving a wild goose chase to parallels, which possibly might lead the hunter even to Asia," several attempts of the kind have been made. Among these, an article recently published by F. O. Schrader, "Indische

Reproduced from Preusser, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34.

Figure 24, men's entrance to the Chaldean church of Djazirat ibn 'Umar, showing two lion reliefs. This is in a bad state of preservation. Observe the absence of the lion reliefs on the women's entrance in Figure 25. Reproduced from Preusser, *op. cit.*, Pl. 35.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. footnote 22.

<sup>48</sup> From Preusser, *op. cit.*, Pl. 16.

<sup>49</sup> Reproduced from Preusser, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17, where the captions are erroneously exchanged. Figure 28, gateway of al-Khān near the Sindjār Mountains. Figure 29, gateway of the citadel of Aleppo.

<sup>50</sup> Published by *Det Kgl. Nordiske Oldskriftselskab*, Second Fasc. (Kjöbenhavn, 1892).

Beziehungen eines nordischen Fundes,"<sup>51</sup> deserves particular attention. There, the author has shown that the details of one of the images of the Gundestrup vessel are nearly identical—as far as the motifs themselves and their arrangement are concerned—with those of one of the Mohenjo-daro seals.<sup>52</sup> In fact, it is impossible to deny that there exists a very striking similarity between the two objects, and it would be difficult to believe that it could have been caused by a mere chance, although it is a complete riddle as to the way a very special pre-Arian Indian motif created in the third millennium B.C. could have been preserved practically unchanged through thousands of years, and finally transmitted to the Celts of northern Europe.

In the following I intend to show the similarity between some of the images of the Celtic vessel and the traditional representations of the eclipse monster encountered in Hindu and early Islamic iconographies. Of course, I admit the possibility that this similarity, as well as the one discussed by F. O. Schrader, is merely accidental, but, in the present instance at least, there is not such an enormous gap of time to be filled, as the vessel which Müller ascribed to the Roman period of Denmark (second century A.D.) may be of a considerably later date (fifth or sixth century A.D., according to Reinach's theory). Naturally one cannot expect to find there any traces of astrological erudition but, at best, the one or the other motif referring to the metaphysical antithesis of the dragon and the celestial bodies. It will be well to remember in this connection that, although the artist's way of treating these motifs on the Gundestrup kettle undoubtedly discloses foreign influence, their mythological background may just as well be sought in northern Europe as in the Oriental world. In fact, there are not many parts of the Eurasiatic continent in which no traces of the dragon myth can be found.

In Figures 30 and 31 two views of the Gundestrup kettle are shown.<sup>53</sup> The outer circumference of the vessel is covered by seven rectangular silver plates with relief decorations. Each of the plates is dominated by a colossal image of a male or female deity of whom only the head and the upper part of the chest with the two arms are represented. It is true that the few parallels in Roman art referred to by Sophus Müller<sup>54</sup> also represent the colossal heads in a similar way, but in none of them are the arms attached to the truncated bodies visible. But if these strange figures are compared with those of the demon Rāhu as shown on our navagraha reliefs, one finds that there exists a rather surprising congruence between the two: in all cases, we can cite the same colossal heads and upper parts of the bodies, with the arms held in various attitudes.

Figures 32 and 33 show enlargements of two of the above-mentioned silver plates,<sup>55</sup> which bear upon our subject. Figure 32 shows the colossal figure of a male deity, adorned as are

<sup>51</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXVIII (1934), 185-93.

<sup>52</sup> Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), Pl. XII, No. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Reproduced from W. A. von Jenny, *Keltische Metallarbeiten* (Berlin, 1935), Pl. 20.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff. The figure on the Roman vessel (Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, No. 5268), referred to by Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 52, Fig. 7, has no arms. He admits that "noget ganske tilsvarende kjendes ikke" ("anything absolutely identical is unknown").

<sup>55</sup> v. Jenny, *op. cit.*, Pl. 21.



most of the corresponding images by the Celtic "torquês," who holds in each of his hands a winged dragon. Müller wishes to identify this animal with the classical hippokampos; but, as he admits himself, the hippokampos is rarely represented with wings, and never with a finless tail. Assuredly, the fishtail is a necessary attribute of the Greek monster because it was the riding horse of the sea-gods. The Gundestrup monster, however, is a genuine winged dragon with a curved snake's tail, and its relationship to the cited Islamic dragons seems to be much closer than to the hippokampos. Of course, the medieval Mesopotamian dragon itself cannot possibly have been the model of the Gundestrup dragon, but a common archetype would have to be looked for in an earlier period of either Indian or western Asiatic art, previous to the earliest of our navagraha reliefs, which already have a purely astrological significance. The identity of Rāhu and the *Djawzahr* dragon has been sufficiently proved, and the (one-, seven-, or many-headed) snake (Ananta) that crowns Rāhu's, or Ketu's, figure in several of our examples, also clearly indicates the close kinship, or identity, of the Indian eclipse monster with the world serpent or the serpent dragon.

It is this mythological identity that would seem to be symbolized by the Gundestrup relief: the god, or demon, with his emblem, the winged dragon. But this is not the only point of congruence with the Asiatic iconographies. The other motif shown on the same plate of the vessel, consisting of a strange double animal that stretches over the god's chest, again recalls to memory the various Mesopotamian dragons discussed above. The one of *Khidr Eliās* especially (*Fig. 27*) has to be quoted as a parallel: in both instances the same arrangement symmetrical with the main axis is observed, the same two heads menacing or devouring animals or (in the Celtic image clearly recognizable) human figures. The only difference between the two is that on the Celtic vessel the hind parts belonging to the two heads are fused into one, whereas the Asiatic iconography represents two intertwined and looped serpentine bodies. However, the absence of the knots or loops in the case of the Celtic image is natural, as these, we have seen, exclusively refer to the astrological, or rather astronomical, interpretation of the dragon.

In *Figure 33* there is also a motif of astronomical significance which, in the ancient Near East, had been in use thousands of years previous to the time of the Gundestrup kettle—the "heraldic" eagle with displayed wings, symbol of the sun, together with the lion, the solar animal par excellence. Exactly the same combination, originally indicating the heliacal rising of Leo, which took place in the fourth millennium about the time of the summer solstice, is found on an asphalt vase from the second period of Susa (*Fig. 34*<sup>56</sup>), including even the little bird (dove) under the eagle, in the right hand of the Celtic goddess as well as in the claws of the Susian eagle. Moreover, this eagle-and-lion motif appears in the coat of arms of the city of Lagash (cf. the famous silver vase of Entemena), and in hundreds of other examples (painted pottery, seals, etc.).<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Mém. Délégation en Perse* (Paris, 1912), XIII, Pl. XXXIV, No. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. above, pp. 115 and 119.

As another argument for the astronomical significance of at least some of the Gundestrup images, I may quote one of the inner plates on which, again, the colossal bust of a male deity is shown, this time holding a "sun wheel" in his hand.

After all, there can hardly be a doubt that the Gundestrup images are in some way related to the Near Eastern and Indian astronomical iconographies. But it is, of course, impossible to tell what have been the direct prototypes of the Celtic images. Assuredly, the Celtic artist did not create his work by simply copying the one or the other Oriental model; it seems more likely that he was inspired by Oriental ideas without having taken a more than superficial view, and without understanding their intrinsic meaning.

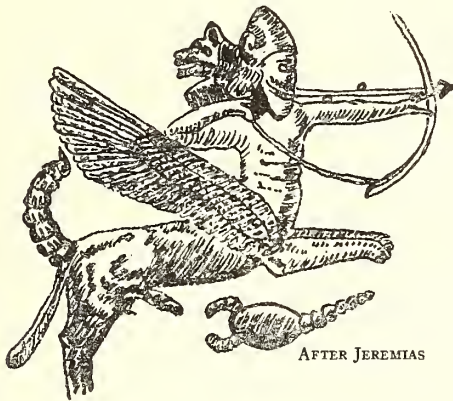


FIG. 35—SAGITTARIUS FROM A BABYLONIAN KUDURRU  
PERIOD OF MELI-ŠIPAK II, ABOUT 1200 B.C.  
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 36—SAGITTARIUS FROM THE "RECTANGULAR  
ZODIAC OF DENDERAH" EGYPT  
ROMAN PERIOD

#### A BABYLONIAN PROTOTYPE OF THE ASTROLOGICAL SAGITTARIUS-DJAWZAHR COMBINATION

I have stated that two pairs of diametrically opposite signs of the zodiac were available as exaltations of the nodes, viz., Leo–Aquarius and Gemini–Sagittarius. The fact that astrologers agreed on choosing the latter was hardly due to a mere accident. On the one hand, there is the obvious negative reason that Leo, on account of its peculiar solar relationship, could hardly be attributed to any planet other than the sun. As it had to remain unoccupied in the original system of the exaltations; it would have been an awkward thing to combine it, in the enlarged system, with the planetary nodes, so much the more as these have a strictly antisolar significance. But it appears that there is also a positive reason for the choice of the pair Gemini–Sagittarius:

Figure 35 shows one of the earliest pictures of Sagittarius so far ascertained, copied from a Babylonian kudurru from the time of Meli-Šipak, and Figure 36, a Hellenistic Egyptian ver-



sion of it, as found on the "Rectangular Zodiac of Denderah."<sup>58</sup> In both examples, the winged centaurs have two tails of which the one, turned upward, in the Babylonian picture, is clearly recognizable as that of a scorpion; moreover, the centaurs are shown Janus-headed, a monstrous head of some undefinable animal being attached to the back of the archer's "normal" head.



AFTER JEREMIAS

FIG. 37—MESOPOTAMIAN DOUBLE-HORNED DRAGON FROM AN ASSYRIAN SEAL CYLINDER  
BETWEEN 1200 AND 700 B.C. PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

In comparing this old Oriental type of Sagittarius with our Islamic representations, the possibility, or rather probability, of a direct or indirect influence must be admitted, as only slight changes in the grouping of just those characteristic details mentioned were necessary to produce the Islamic type from the Babylonian or Egyptian: the monstrous hindhead is then put at the end of the tail, and its original place is taken by the ribbons waving from the centaur's cap, as seen in practically all representations of the constellation of Sagittarius (cf. *Fig. 16*, and the iconographies of this constellation on medieval celestial globes, or in the illuminated manuscripts of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī's *Catalogue of the Fixed Stars*).



FIG. 38—SCORPION MAN FROM A KUDURRU, PERIOD OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR I, ABOUT 1130 B.C.  
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

As concerns the original significance of the double-headed and double-tailed Babylonian archer, we can make nothing but rather vague conjectures. In looking at this figure, one gets the impression that the centaur's body is thought to be fused with the body of a monster of which only the head and the scorpion tail are visible to the eye. Is this monster related to, or even a modified version of, the Mesopotamian double-horned dragon, well known from the

<sup>58</sup> Reproduced from A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der alt-orientalischen Geisteskultur*, 2d. ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), Figs. 127 and 128. There is some want of precision in the rendering of some details: the bow of the

Egyptian archer is double curved, and the features of the monstrous head do not strictly resemble those of a dog, as it would seem in this drawing.

kudurrus, which, when appearing on seals, is usually represented with a scorpion tail (see *Fig. 37*<sup>59</sup>)? The probability of such a hypothesis can hardly be denied, but the question remains entirely unsolved as to why this dragon was combined with the constellation of Sagittarius. Most probably the solution of the problem has to be sought in the ancient oriental mythology—indeed, there certainly exists a connection with the “scorpion man” watching, in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, at the entrance to the inferior world. This corresponds to the sun’s entrance into the dark half of the year, through the constellation of Scorpio, by the time of the autumn equinox, in the fourth and third millennia B.C. This scorpion man (with a human head, a scorpion’s body and tail, and a bird’s feet and claws<sup>60</sup>) is a rather common figure on Mesopotamian seals, and by the end of the second millennium it makes its appearance also on the kudurrus, with the scorpion itself, as one of the two types of figures representing the constellation of Sagittarius (*Fig. 38*<sup>61</sup>). Thus, Sagittarius, being the left neighbor of Scorpio, would seem to have been differentiated from the undoubtedly very old constellation of Scorpio, when the need was felt to fill the gaps between the originally conceived four cardinal constellations, viz., Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Capricorn–Aquarius,<sup>62</sup> by new groups of stars, from which the twelve-partite zodiac was finally derived. And simultaneously, some of the mythological features belonging to the scorpion also seem to have passed over to Sagittarius—hence its combination with the scorpion monster or scorpion-tailed dragon; and, still, we must not forget that the scorpion itself had always been closely related to the snake,<sup>63</sup> symbol of the inferior antisolar world, the region of the dragon!

After all, it is not out of the way to assume that the medieval astrologers still possessed some knowledge of the mythological significance of the Babylonian–Egyptian picture of Sagittarius, and that the dragon’s astrological co-ordination with this constellation thus was due to a reminiscence of a very old mythological tradition.<sup>64</sup>

EARLY LITERARY REFERENCES TO THE DJAWZAHK; THE NAWBAHR;  
RĀHU-KETU; AND THEIR IRANIAN EQUIVALENTS

1. *A rabbinic reference*

In the *Mishna* tract ‘*Aboda Zara*’ (Chapter III, 3), the following passage is contained:

Whenever a vessel is found on which the picture of the sun, or of the moon, or of a dragon (draḳōn) is shown, it must be thrown into the salt sea.

<sup>59</sup> Detail from an Assyrian seal cylinder, from Jeremias, *op. cit.*, Fig. 206 (p. 375).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, D. C., 1910), Nos. 624, 1137, 1138.

<sup>61</sup> Detail from a kudurru of the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (about 1130 B.C.), copied from Jeremias, *op. cit.*, Fig. 121.

<sup>62</sup> Originally the constellation of the *Ibex* seems to have been formed by the brightest stars of the later constellations of Capricorn and Aquarius. The earliest his-

tory of the constellations of the zodiac will be treated in a forthcoming publication.

<sup>63</sup> Witnessed by the manifold serpent–scorpion combinations on prehistoric Mesopotamian seals and pottery. See P. Toscanne, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>64</sup> An important connecting link between the ancient Babylonian and the medieval Islamic representations of Sagittarius is found in a Biblical reference, Rev. 9: 3, 7–10, 17, and 19:

“3. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon



Maimonides' commentary to this passage reads as follows:

When a picture of the sun or the moon is mentioned, this does not mean that the picture of the sun be represented by a round disk, and that of the moon by a bow, but it refers to those figures which are called *telesmata*, and which are ascribed to the stars by the men who made them. Thus, for instance, they used to represent Saturn like a black old man, Venus like a gold-adorned fair young girl, the sun as a crowned king sitting on a chariot, and likewise they ascribe many figures to all of the constellations and stars though there is no agreement on it among them . . . But the picture of the dragon which is mentioned in this *Mishna* is a scaled and finned figure like that of a fish. This figure was highly renowned with them because they attribute it to a certain part of the celestial sphere. And one of them who used to make such pictures told me that this one picture represents the dragon in the sphere of the moon—called in Arabic “al-Djawzahr”—and that it is made after a certain model and in a certain hour. As I never had seen any such picture I asked him in what book I might find it mentioned. Whereupon he answered me that his teacher himself had devised that picture and confided it to him as a secret, together with many other things.<sup>65</sup>

What we learn from this is that still in the twelfth century the astrological doctrines of the *Djawzahr* had by no means become a generally known matter but used to be treated as a secret by the initiated, in such a way that even a highly erudite scholar like Maimonides could make only a rather vague statement about it. On the other hand, the *Mishna* passage itself proves that, in or before the fifth century A.D. (which is certainly the latest possible date of composition of the *Mishna*), it must have been quite a common usage to represent the dragon as well as the sun or the moon, since otherwise it would be incomprehensible that the Jewish theologians found it worth while fighting against this heresy.

It is improbable that this passage really refers to the astrological significance of the dragon, as Maimonides interpreted it; more likely, it is an allusion to the mythological role which the dragon played in the religion of the people whose hospitality the author of the passage in question enjoyed. By that time there were places enough in the Near East where this old mythological tradition still could be found living and strong, and it must be remembered that the star-worshipping Harrānians preserved it even to a much later time.

the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. . . .

“7. And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men.

“8. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions.

“9. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

“10. And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there

were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. . . .

“17. And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.

“19. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.”

<sup>65</sup> See D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), II, 484–85.

## 2. *Djawzahr-Nawbahr; etymological questions and early Iranian references*

In going over Arabic manuscripts of astronomical or astrological content, I happened to come across a passage contained in a *Mukhtaṣar* of the tables of *Ulūgh-Beg*<sup>66</sup> which deserves attention; the author there employs the term *al-Djawzahr* only for the ascending node, and introduces a special expression, *al-Nawbahr*, for the descending node: "The *Djawzahr* is also called 'the head' (*al-Ra's*), and its nadir, *al-Nawbahr*, is called 'the tail' (*al-Dhanab*)."<sup>67</sup>

Using the term *نوبهر* in this way is quite an extraordinary thing. It is true that this word also appears fairly often in other astrological texts, but, then, it has always to be understood as "one ninth part"<sup>68</sup> of a sign of the zodiac, being an astrological quantity which of course cannot possibly be put into connection with the *Nawbahr* mentioned here. The passage stands also in some contrast with the eighth *Djazīra* relief because there, as has been seen, the situation results from the astrological rules that it must be the dragon's tail, exalted in Sagittarius, or possibly the dragon *in toto* (cf. pp. 135–36), that is called *Djawzahr*, while here it is the head.

In spite of this obvious confusion, there remains the important and interesting fact that in the Islamic astrological literature also two different terms, *Djawzahr* and *Nawbahr*, occur as designations for the two parts of the dragon monster, corresponding exactly to the two Sanskrit terms *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. As both of them clearly are borrowed from the Persian, I shall now try to find their traces in the earlier vernacular Iranian literature.

In the *Bundahishn*, the *Djawzahr* appears in two different passages, in the obviously corrupted form "*Gūrčihar*":

### Chapter 5:

*Gūrčihar* and *Dūzdīn Mūš-Parīk*, the tailed stars (*dumbōmand* [دومبواومند]), attacked the sun and the moon (and the stars)<sup>69</sup>; the sun bound the *Mūš-Parīk* to his path in such a way that it can do but little harm.

### Chapter 31:

When *Gūrčihar* on the firmament falls down to the earth from the limb of the moon, then the earth will be suffering such pains as a lamb which is assailed by the wolf.

As is seen, the first of these references also mentions two antagonists of the sun and the

<sup>66</sup> In the collection of the Institut für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften at Berlin, written in Maghribinian style, second half of the seventeenth century (Ms. Or. II. 38). See my description in J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, Abschriften und Photokopien des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin* (Berlin, 1939). The word *Nawbahr* occurs also in Ms. Or. II. 44, *Kitāb al-Lum'a fī Ḥall al-Sab'a* by *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Rīshī*, p. 37, caption:

"...*al-Djawzahr*, which is diametrically opposite to *al-Nawbahr*, the tail."

<sup>67</sup> الجوزهر ويسمى الراس وتظيره النوبهر ويسمى الذنب

<sup>68</sup> It should then be read "*Nūbahr*" instead of "*Nawbahr*" (نو = ن, "nine"; بهر, "part").

<sup>69</sup> The bracketed words "and the stars" are certainly apocryphal; cf. F. Justi, *Der Bundehesh* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 7, footnote.



moon, viz., Gūrčihar and Dūždīn Mūš-Parīk.<sup>70</sup> The material identity of these two terms with the modern Persian *Djawzahr-Nawbahr*, as well as the etymological identity of Pahlavi Gūrčihar with modern Persian *Djawzahr* is evidently beyond doubt. It is not clear whether "tailed" refers to both of them or only to the second one. The latter alternative would seem to be the better because, then, the term *دومبواومند* would indicate that Mūš-Parīk, corresponding to Ketu, is the tail of the bisected monster, and of course also a "tail star," i.e., a comet, like Ketu.

The question of the significance and etymology of Dūždīn Mūš-Parīk, and of the modern Persian *Nawbahr*, is very delicate indeed. Is it possible that the astrologically meaningless "Mūš-Parīk," which otherwise occurs only in one Avestan passage (*Yasna* 16.8), is nothing but a misunderstood reading of another word, less well known to the copyist? And should the *Nawbahr* perhaps give us the clue to it? If, despite my insufficient training in Iranian philology, I dare to enter upon a discussion of this matter, I a priori ask the specialists' forbearance.

According to Bartholomae,<sup>71</sup> Dūždīn Mūš-Parīk means "the thievish pairika (witch), Mūš." But considering the obviously astromythological character of the whole passage (in which all the other planets are mentioned as fighting against the celestials), Bartholomae's reading and interpretation seem hardly convincing. If we accept dūždīn as "thievish," i.e., "stealing the light of the great luminaries during eclipses," there still remains the second component to be explained, which Justi reads as Mūšpar, written in Pahlavi characters: *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥*. To the modern Persian *Nawbahr* would correspond a Pahlavi form, \*Nōkbahir: *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥*. Is it not possible that the second half of the first word (špar) was produced from the word *bahir*, meaning "part," by the carelessness of a copyist: *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥* > *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥*? I believe any Arabic student who has had to do with carelessly written manuscripts would admit the possibility of it.

It seems to me that a corruption of the first parts of the two words: *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥* > *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥*, might also easily have been produced in a similar way.

The meaning of the word *Nawbahr*, corresponding to an Avestic form \*navabaxəδra or \*navabaδra (Sanskrit \*navabhadrā<sup>72</sup>) would be "the new part" or "the new luck." The former of these two translations certainly agrees well with the Indian version of the dragon myth, since there also Ketu is the "new part" produced by the bisection of the demon Rāhu.

As to the Sanskrit word *ketu*, its original significance is "light," "clarity" being an abstract term synonymous with the etymologically related word (adjective) *citra*, which we shall have to deal with instantly—in the figurative sense it can be applied to all kinds of luminous phenomena, especially meteors or comets. As these "tail stars" were regarded as manifestations of Rāhu's tail the application of the term *ketu* to this latter was quite natural in itself;

<sup>70</sup> This reading is according to C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), col. 1189, s.v. *mūš*, while Justi's text and transliteration of the *Bundahishm* reads *دوچدو موشپر*, Dūčdū Mūšpar.

<sup>71</sup> See footnote 70.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the similar composition, Avestan *hubaδra*, Sanskrit *subhadra*, used as adjective or noun. See H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien* (Strassburg, 1895), p. 33, No. 245; and H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1931), II, 29.

but then there arose the logical difficulty that the light-devouring function of Ketu as an eclipse demon came to stand in strict contradiction to the word's original significance—light! This inconsistency, however, does not seem to have bothered the Hindu astrologers.

Finally, the question of the early history and etymology of the word *Djawzahr* will have to concern us once more. On page 121 I stated that the correct form of the modern Persian *gawzahr* گوزهر most probably is *gāw-čīhr* گاوجهر, which we tentatively translated as “bull shaped” or “bull face,” according to the current meaning of the word *čīhr* in present-day language. But this interpretation, it will be seen, does by no means do full justice to the esoteric content of the compound.

In Vullers' *Lexicon*, I, 605a, we find s.v. چهر: (1) *origo essentiae* (Avestan: *čithra*, “semen”), (2) *facies, vultus* (especially in the form چهره). It is the former of these two equivalents that gives us the key to the right understanding of the problem: in the *Avesta*, the compound *gao-čithra*, being the exact etymological equivalent of the modern Persian *gāw-čīhr*, occurs in several passages, and always as an epithet of the moon! Thus it appears, for example, in *Yasht* 7.3 (called *Mah Yasht*, the “Moon Yasht”): “We revere the Moon, the *gao-čithra*, the *asha*-holy, the *ratav* (‘donor’) of *asha*.”

Similarly, in *Yasht* 7.5, 6; 12.33, *Yasna* 16.4, *Vidēvdāt* 21.9.

This term *gao-čithra* is usually interpreted as “forming the origin of the ox,”<sup>73</sup> or perhaps rather “having the *sperma bovis*,” which is regarded to be concentrated in the lunar sphere or even on the moon herself, from where it acts as a fecundator of the terrestrial regions. But in the etymologically corresponding Sanskrit word *citra*, derived from the same etymon as *ketu*, we find still another original significance preserved which possibly is resonant even in the above Avestan passages: that of “light, clear, brilliant,” frequently occurring as one of the moon's many epithets. Thus, the astrological *Djawzahr*, whose material identity with *Rāhu* we have established before, finally turns out to be etymologically related to *Rāhu*'s *alter ego*, *Ketu*. That this material identity between *Rāhu* and the *Djawzahr* is of a rather early date, must be considered a matter of fact. Thus, our second quotation from the *Bundahishn* (Chap. 31): “When *Gūrčihar* on the firmament falls down to the earth from the limb of the moon, then the earth will be suffering such pains as a lamb which is assailed by the wolf,” has its perfect parallel in the story of *Rāhu*, whose severed head, “like a mountaintop, fell roaring down to the ground, so that the earth was shaken as by an earthquake.”<sup>74</sup>

It might seem a strange thing that *gao-čithra*, originally the light and fecundity attribute of the moon, was subjected to such a modification of meaning that it finally—probably in the late Sasanian period—became a denomination of the eclipse demon, the personified dark principle par excellence and direct antagonist of the celestial luminaries. Of course, we must keep in mind the considerable gap of time which elapsed between the Avestan period and the intro-

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, col. 480: “*gao-ciθra*, adj., ‘den Ursprung des Rindes bildend’, ‘woraus das Rind entstanden ist’, vom Mond”.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. H. Zimmer, *Maya, der indische Mythos* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1936), p. 133.



duction of Hellenistic astrology in Iran. The apparent confusion was perhaps due to the interference of the ancient metaphysical and mythological conceptions with the knowledge of the physical causes of eclipses (particularly solar eclipses): in Sasanian times, it was really known that it is the moon which extinguishes the light of the sun during solar eclipses, but nevertheless the influence of the old dragon myth was still strong enough to make astrologers refrain from calling the moon by her proper name in this connection. The precise significance of the moon's chief epithet in the Avestan period, *gao-čithra*, had probably fallen into oblivion and, therefore, this same *gao-čithra*, then considered a neutral term vaguely connected with the moon, could finally be found fit to be applied to the eclipsing monster. My assertion that the proper meaning of *gao-čithra* had been completely forgotten in post-Avestan times is supported by the fact that, in the mutilated Pahlavi form *gūrčihar*, it seems impossible to recognize any relation to the "primordial ox," Pahlavi *gāv* (expressed by the Semitic ideogram *TWR*'), which otherwise occurs frequently enough in the *Bundahishn*.

# THE INTERIM PERIOD IN PERSIAN POTTERY: AN ESSAY IN CHRONOLOGICAL REVISION\* BY GERALD REITLINGER

## THE GAP IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

THE SUBJECT OF THIS ARTICLE IS THE STATE OF PERSIAN POTTERY DURING THE OBSCURE period between two great revivals. The first of these revivals, beginning in the late twelfth century, covered the whole world of Islam: Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. Underglaze painting on a white slip, the delightful art which was perfected in this revival, was no new thing in these countries. Excavations at Samarra, Rayy, and many other sites show that it was understood in the ninth century. The twelfth-century movement owed much to this earlier period, but it was far more inventive. The early thirteenth century is the age by which Islamic pottery is best known to the student and the collector. It was followed at once by the Mongol invasion. Popular tradition would have it that, in Persia at any rate, native art declined, to recover only with the return of native rule at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The more that pottery is excavated, the less this view coincides with the facts. The early thirteenth century, the *blütezeit* of Persian pottery, is the age of the primacy of Rayy. Rayy was twice sacked by the Mongols, in 1220 and again in 1224 A.D., but pottery was made there until the middle of the century, and the style continued still longer at Kashan and Sulatanabad. The last documented pieces from Kashan, the lustered mihrab tiles, form a series terminating in 1339 A.D.<sup>1</sup> There is one solitary luster tile in the British Museum bearing the date 810 H. (1407 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> This may be a scribe's error, or it may really be that the Kashan potters, whom we now know to have been a family dynasty,<sup>3</sup> were capable of making tiles, as late as this, in a style a century old.<sup>4</sup> I know of only two dates that have been published from Persian pottery between 1339 and 1468.<sup>5</sup> There are, however, some dates contained in monumental inscriptions of faïence-brick mosaic, a fashion which reached its extreme of intricacy after the invasion of Persia by Timur Lenk (1383-1404). They are mainly in the regions

\* Unless otherwise stated, all the pieces illustrated and described in this article are from my collection. I am obliged to the Victoria and Albert Museum for permitting me to reproduce Figures 1, 8-11, 28, and 36, and to the Walters Art Gallery for Figure 12.

<sup>1</sup> R. L. Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), Fig. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 118.

<sup>3</sup> H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik* (Istanbul, 1935), pp. 67-68.

<sup>4</sup> E. Kühnel ("Dated Persian Lustre Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III [1931], 231) considers the flying phoenix, as depicted on this tile, a typically Timurid motif. Yet, save

that it is less well drawn, it does not differ from the phoenixes of a full century before.

<sup>5</sup> 860 H. (1456 A.D.) on a luster tile in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and 809 H. (1406 A.D.) on a pottery tombstone in the Shiraz Museum. On the former Kühnel (*ibid.*) reads a building dedication of the Timurid Sultan Abū Sa'īd (1451-67 A.D.). The tile is painted in a unique tomato-red luster with pale blue edging. The naturalistic ornament suggests sixteenth-century pottery, but the general decorative scheme is still in the Kashan tradition. It is one of the very few pieces which bridge the gap between the fourteenth century and the Persian revival of lusterware in the early seventeenth. For the Shiraz tombstone, see footnote 20.



avored by his court rather than in Persia proper. Such are the inscriptions in his mausoleum at Samarkand (1413 A.D.). And there is a later inscription in the blue mosque at Tabriz (1438).

A building of Timur Lenk's reign, though it is not in Persia, sheds some light on the Persian potter's art. In the small mausoleum of *Shīrīn Bika*, built in 1385, in the *Shāh Zinda* enclosure at Samarkand, there are hexagonal tiles decorated with drawings of phoenixes in gold on a blue ground. Cohn-Wiener is in error in supposing that they are the work of a Chinese craftsman. His photograph<sup>6</sup> reveals that the tiles are in a debased Kashan style. The use of gold luster on blue is fairly frequent in Rayy pottery of the thirteenth century, and the phoenixes like that on the British Museum tile belong to this tradition.

One would like to know more about the "rare tiles that are made to imitate China ware," mentioned by Mr. Dwight M. Donaldson, in the *Haram* at Meshed, and dated by an inscription 760 H. (1359 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> The description is quoted from the work of Muhammad Hasan Khan, *Ṣani' al-Dawla*, a Persian scholar of the last century. If these tiles imitate blue-and-white porcelain, they should be the earliest dated examples of their kind, sixty years older than the famous blue-and-white tiles from Damascus (*Fig. 1*). The center of Persian civilization in the Timurid period varied from Samarkand to Herat, and it is certain from illustrations in contemporary miniature paintings of the Herat school that large pottery vessels with Persian shapes but Chinese decoration were used there. One miniature, said to date from 1396, in the reign of Timur, shows a blue-glazed bottle with a gold Chinese dragon painted on it and another bottle with a blue-and-white decoration.<sup>8</sup>

There is no reason to presume an actual break in pottery production in Persia in the middle of the fourteenth century. Politically there can be no reason for it. It was a time of national revival, when the Mongols were in full decline and a native Persian dynasty, the Muẓaffarids, ruled half the country, as well as Iraq. Pottery of the finer kind must have been made, but there are other reasons for its failure to survive in the same quantities as earlier ware. At the end of the fourteenth century the Muslim geographers record many famous towns on the edge of the desert as in ruins and abandoned by their inhabitants. The descriptions apply equally to the Mesopotamian Desert, where Rakka was abandoned<sup>9</sup>—the pottery seems to end in the early fourteenth century—and the desert of northern Persia, fringed by the pottery towns of Rayy and Kashan. The Muslims cast the blame on the Mongols, in particular on Hūlāgū, who systematically broke the dikes in his campaigns. But the breeches were mended, and cultivation continued at least another century. The truth is that the desert caught up these ancient centers in its advance—an advance which still continues. The pottery kilns must then have been moved to better-watered country. This country has remained continuously populated since, and does not easily reveal the traces of the past. Sixteenth-

<sup>6</sup> E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan* (Berlin, 1930), p. 26 and Pl. 39b.

<sup>7</sup> D. M. Donaldson, "Significant Mihrābs in the *Haram* at Maṣḥad," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1 (1935), 118.

<sup>8</sup> A. L. B. Ashton, "Early Blue and White in Persian

Mss.," *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, 1934-35, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> A useful résumé of the sources in Laurence Brown, *Eclipse of Christianity in Asia* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 178-84.

century pottery, except for the excavated pieces from Sāva, is known to us mainly from examples which have been preserved by some happy accident above ground. Thus there are no "wasters" to afford exact information on the position of the kilns. The large number of pieces found in the houses of the chiefs when the Russians occupied Daghestan, and known as "Kūbachī" ware, are typical of this ambiguity.<sup>10</sup> There are no means of telling where they were made. We may assume that in the fifteenth century the great factories of Rayy and Kashan were extinct, but farther west, where the desert had not encroached, there were later established kilns producing the wares of Sāva and Varāmīn.

#### THE DATE OF "VARĀMĪN" WARE

A number of Persian bowls which do not come under the usual categories have been exported under the name of "Varāmīn." It is known that excavation has taken place in the neighborhood of Varāmīn, but there is no indication that there were kilns there. Among the "Varāmīn" pieces there are differences of clay and glaze, as well as many styles and qualities of ware, which suggest manufacture in several regions. It is inadvisable to accept dealers' assurances that the whole of this mass of material was actually dug up at Varāmīn. In the early fifteenth century the center of Persian civilization gravitated towards Azerbaijan, particularly to the towns of Sulṭāniya, Tabriz, and Ardebil. Much pottery of a type akin to certain "Varāmīn" varieties is found at Sulṭāniya, in the shadow of the gigantic mausoleum of the Mongol Olčaitu *Khudābanda*. Figure 22 is an example which I acquired there.

Some of the "Varāmīn" pieces resemble the pottery of Sultanabad. Certain very striking shapes are common to both, such as the bowls with straight sides, narrow bases, and exaggerated flat flanges to the rims (*Figs. 10 and 16*). The dates on "Sultanabad" pottery become notably scarce after the year 1300, but the pieces with figures and animals in black and white on rich foliated backgrounds of deep blue and green are later. Some pieces of this type show the rococco tendencies of the Timurid faïence-brick mosaics. One piece lent by Mr. D. K. Kelekian to the Victoria and Albert Museum has human figures in the style of miniature paintings of the late fourteenth century, fifty years later than the dated series which continue the tradition of Rayy (*Fig. 36*). Dealers sometimes call this later type by the name of "Aragh" (from 'Arāḡ) instead of "Sultanabad," substituting the name of the province—the Persian province of Iraq—for the neighboring town. The "'Arāḡ" pieces, however, come from the same group of villages as the earlier type. I believe the "Varāmīn" pieces to be contemporary with the last products of "Sultanabad" or "'Arāḡ," and some of them considerably later. R. L. Hobson considers the "Varāmīn" wares to be fourteenth century; Arthur Upham Pope,<sup>11</sup> who based his opinion on the fact that they are found close to the surface, early sixteenth. The truth, I believe, lies between the two views. Certain designs in this far from homogeneous

<sup>10</sup> J. Abercromby, *A Trip Through the Eastern Caucasus* (London, 1889).

<sup>11</sup> Review of R. L. Hobson, "A Guide to the Islamic

Pottery of the Near East, London, 1932," *Art Bulletin*, XIV (1932), 377.



group may date from the last quarter of the fourteenth century; others, such as that of Figure 18, may be as late as 1500; but the greater part belong to the early and middle fifteenth century, the age of the empire of Timur and his successors. I base this view on an analysis of related pottery types among which there are certain positively documented pieces. By this analysis I hope to show that there is no true gap in the development of Persian pottery, and that there is a clear link between the pre-Mongol period and the Safawid renaissance in the sixteenth century.

In the sixteenth century we find a new kind of potter's art, already fully developed, possessed of a new range of colors, new advances in glaze, and new foreign influences. An artistic principle is at work, affecting Syria and Anatolia as well as Persia. What must strike the most inexperienced observer is the extent to which design has become formalized. In some instances the decoration can be justly described as mechanical. To compare Isnik pottery with Persian pottery of the thirteenth century is to compare the carving on a seventeenth-century Jesuit church with that of a Romanesque portal.

Without going into the detail of sixteenth-century pottery, one point must be stressed—the more calligraphic quality of Persian pottery as compared with that of Isnik and Damascus. Already in the thirteenth century this is striking when comparing Rayy ware with the Syro-Egyptian fragments from Fustât, and it lingers in Persian pottery till the nineteenth century.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF MING BLUE-AND-WHITE PORCELAIN

In Syria the mechanical quality so wearisome in sixteenth-century pottery is already apparent in some Damascus tiles of the year 1426 A.D. These blue-and-white hexagonal tiles, from the tomb of the chamberlain, al-Tawrîzî,<sup>12</sup> are a dated landmark in the Western imitation of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, as made at Ch'ing-té Chên under the early Ming dynasty (*Fig. 1*). Ming porcelain was also imitated at Fustât in Egypt, where an immense number of fragments were found, including a few signed by famous potters such as Ghaibî, al-Miṣrî, al-Hurmuzî, and Ghazâl. These potters had an eclectic style and did not imitate Chinese models only. They are supposed to have worked in the fourteenth century,<sup>13</sup> but in view of the Chinese evidence this date is untenable. Blue-and-white porcelain may have been made at Ch'ing-té Chên for some time before the accession of the Ming emperors in 1368, but it was a primitive ware, weak in color and drawing. In the pieces sometimes accepted by collectors as belonging to this period, the lotus-lily ornament, the revolutionary element introduced from China into Islamic art, hardly yet occurs. The models imitated at Fustât would seem to be, at the earliest, the Ch'ing-té Chên pieces with the rare reign mark of Hsüan-tê (1426–35) and

<sup>12</sup> K. Watzinger and C. Wultzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (Berlin, 1924), p. 92 and Pl. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Aly Bey Bahgat and F. Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 70–81. Pre-

vious to this in "Fragments from Fustat," *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, 1923–24, p. 19, Mr. Oscar Raphael pointed out that some of the blue-and-white fragments must be sixteenth century.

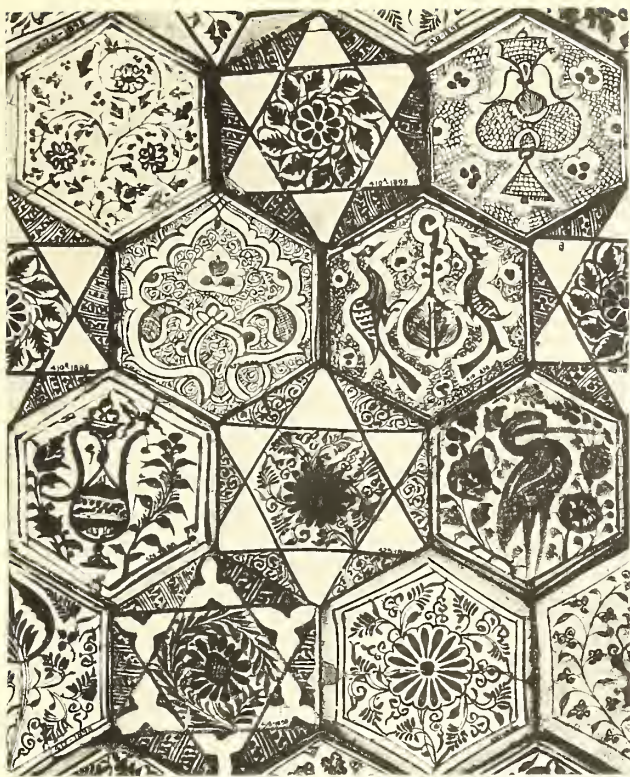


FIG. 1—TILES, TOMB OF AL-TAWRĪZĪ, 1426 A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 2—VASE WITH MING MOTIFS, SYRIA  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, H. S. REITLINGER COLLECTION

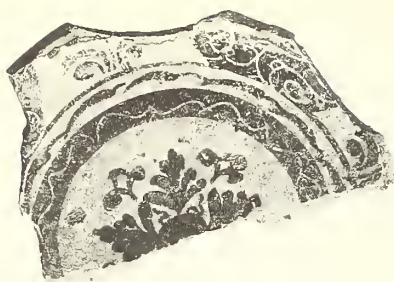


FIG. 3—BOWL FROM SĀVA, LATE FIFTEENTH  
CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION



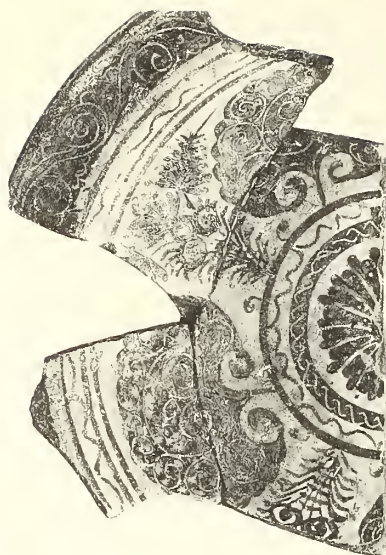
FIG. 4—BOWL, PERSIAN IMITATION OF CHINESE  
BLUE-AND-WHITE PORCELAIN. "VARĀMĪN"  
WARE, MIDDLE FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, H. S. REITLINGER COLLECTION





FROM SARRE

FIG. 5—TWO FRAGMENTS FROM  
MILETUS



FROM SARRE

FIG. 6—FRAGMENT FROM  
MILETUS



FIG. 7—FRAGMENT, KISH AREA  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT  
MUSEUM



FIG. 10—BOWL WITH PURPLE-BROWN PAINTING ON  
LIGHT BLUE-GREEN SLIP. "VARĀMĪN" WARE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 13—BOWL RESEMBLING "KŪBACHĪ" WARE  
"VARĀMĪN" WARE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, H. S. REITLINGER COLLECTION





FIG. 8—PLATE, "KŪBACHĪ" WARE, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, KELEKIAN COLLECTION



FIG. 9—PLATE, "KŪBACHĪ" WARE, 873 H. (1468 A.D.)  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, KELEKIAN COLLECTION



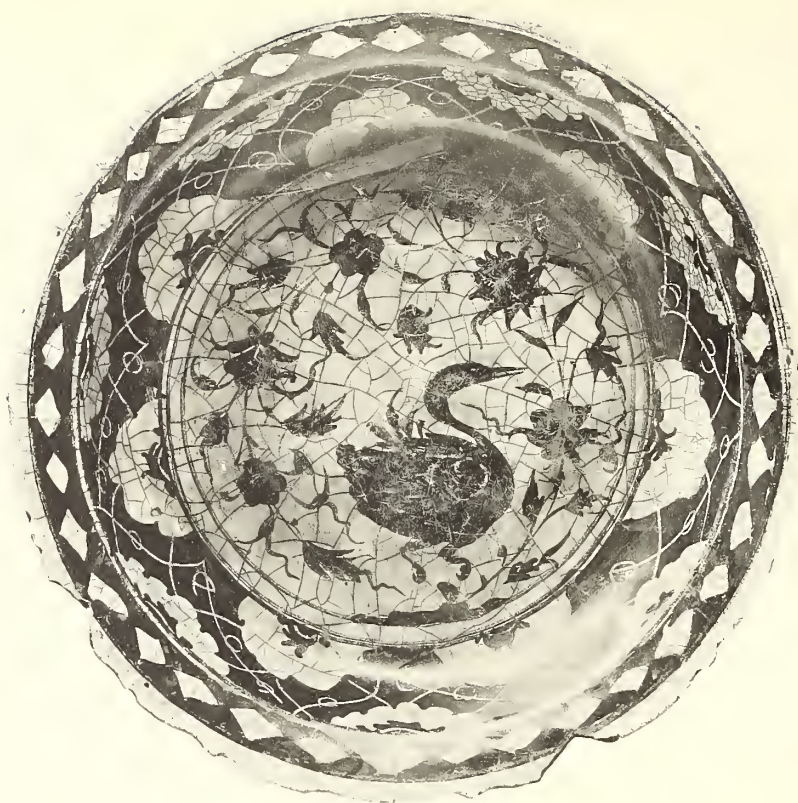


FIG. 11—PLATE, "KŪBACHĪ" WARE, LATE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, KELEKIAN COLLECTION



FIG. 12—PLATE, "KŪBACHĪ" WARE, 885 H. (1480 A.D.)  
BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY

the more abundant specimens with the mark of Ch'êng Hua (1465-87). It is probable that some of the Fustāt fragments derive from sixteenth-century prototypes.<sup>14</sup>

This dating for Fustāt ware is supported by Chinese pottery fragments, found on the site of the old Red Sea port of 'Aidhāb near Suakin. The fragments reveal a pottery trade going back to the thirteenth century, but the fragments of blue-and-white porcelain among them appear to be later than the alleged date of the destruction of the port.<sup>15</sup>

The two documentary allusions to the year 1426 at 'Aidhāb and Damascus give some assistance in dating other imitations of blue-and-white porcelain in the Near East and Persia.

How did the fourteenth-century attribution come about? It was due to a mistake of Henry Wallis, who brought Damascus tiles to England in 1898, believing that they came from the Umayyad Mosque as restored in 1298 A.D. The photographs, published by Watzinger and Wultzinger in their wartime survey of Islamic Damascus, a publication which was delayed till 1924, show positively that the tiles presented by Henry Wallis to the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>16</sup> came from a building dated by inscription to the year 1426, where a large part of the series are still in their original position.<sup>17</sup> It is of the greatest importance to realize both this date and the dating of the Ch'ing-té Chên pieces, where lotus-lily ornaments of the kind shown in Figures 3 and 16 occur.

Figure 2 from the H. S. Reitlinger collection comes almost certainly from a kiln site outside Damascus, where many of the fragments found at Fustāt must have originated. Figure 3, placed with it for comparison, was excavated in Persia, perhaps at Sāva, where many later pieces of this kind were found. In the Persian bowl the design is almost purely Chinese, and it must have been made toward the latter part of the fifteenth century, when the Chinese influence dominated all others. Figure 4, a fine "Varāmīn" piece, shows the transition from traditional Islamic ornament, exhibited in some of its decorations, to the "grammar" of Ch'ing-té Chên.<sup>18</sup> In proposing to date both this and the Syrian piece toward the year 1450 I do not preclude the possibility that Ming porcelain may have reached Northern Persia earlier than it reached 'Aidhāb and Fustāt. The conquests of Timur (1384-1404) must have reopened the caravan route to China over Samarkand, and it was along this road that a vast hoard of such porcelain with the mark of Wan-Li (1573-1619) reached the "Čīnī Khāna" in

<sup>14</sup> R. L. Hobson (*Wares of the Ming Dynasty* [London, 1923], Pl. 59, Fig. 1) reproduces the base of a porcelain bowl found at Fustāt which bears the reign mark of Hsüan-Té. A word of caution is necessary. Chinese connoisseurs have always prized this mark, and it was often unscrupulously copied on later wares, particularly in the seventeenth century (A. D. Brankston, *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen* [Peking, 1938]). Thanks to the confusion which an antiquarian instinct has created, it is impossible to date Ming pottery schematically.

<sup>15</sup> R. L. Hobson, "Chinese Porcelain Fragments from Aidhab, and Some Bashpa Inscriptions," *Trans. Oriental*

*Ceramic Soc.*, 1926-27, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> South Kensington Mus., No. C.408 (1898), No. C.411 (1898), and No. 295 (1900).

<sup>17</sup> Henry Wallis also purchased some tiles which may have come from other Damascus buildings. No. A.312 in the Victoria and Albert Museum is particularly interesting, as it contains a Ming motif frequently copied at Fustāt—lotus lilies growing out of baskets.

<sup>18</sup> The wavy naturalistic stems of the lotus lilies in this Varāmīn bowl are a faithful copy of a frequent Ming type, one which dates genuinely from the Hsüan-té period (Brankston, *op. cit.*, Pls. 1, 19, and 24a).



Ardebil<sup>19</sup> two centuries later. Chinese porcelain must have used this road at least as late as the eighteenth century. From a passage which I have already quoted concerning the Ḥaram at Meshed, it is possible that this porcelain trade was operating before the reign of Timur.<sup>20</sup> Of course there was Chinese influence in the Near East long before this time, for instance at Samarra in the ninth century, but Chinese influence on thirteenth-century art, the alleged result of the impact of the Mongols, has to my mind been overstressed. The Mongolian faces of the figures in Rayy pottery are cited as an example. This alleged Mongol face occurs in the frescoes of Samarra, nearly four hundred years before Hūlāgū invaded Iraq. So, too, the phoenixes and cranes, in which the Kashan and Sultanabad potters of the fourteenth century delighted, need not be sought for in China. They have little serious resemblance to anything known to students of contemporary Chinese art, but on the contrary have a lengthy ancestry in Islamic tradition, particularly that of Rakka on the Syro-Mesopotamian border.

In the fourteenth century the "Arāk" or "Sultanabad" bowls and the Kashan luster tiles develop in the direction of a dowdy naturalism, a sort of vegetable profusion comparable to the European rococo. It has been a custom to notice Chinese influence here, too. The truth, I believe, is that both the naturalistic and rococo tendencies are endemic in Islamic art, and part of its legacy from Hellenism. At the end of the ninth century they are noticeable in the degeneration of the stucco ornament at Samarra. In the twelfth-century renaissance, ornament begins, severe and geometrical; within half a century it tends again to the naturalistic, but without drawing on any external sources. It was only in the Timurid period that a real poverty of imagination set in and the Muslim potter had to borrow from a foreign empire. By 1500 it almost amounted to the fact that to paint something on a bowl meant to copy a Chinese design.<sup>21</sup>

#### "MILETUS" AND "KŪBACHĪ" AND THEIR RELATION TO "VARĀMĪN" WARES

The influence of Chinese Ming porcelain is an external point of contact in considering the problem of the wares known as "Varāmīn." There are two other points of contact in the wares styled "Miletus" and "Kūbachī." The earliest pieces, which are supposed to have come from Kūbachī, are inscribed with dates corresponding to 1468, 1469, and 1480 A.D. The bowls and fragments, excavated by the Germans at Miletus before the war, are dated by Professor Sarre in a period previous to the defeat of the local Turcoman dynasty, the Menteshē emirs,

<sup>19</sup> F. Sarre and B. Schultz, *Ardabil* (Berlin, 1924), p. 18, and Pl. XVII.

<sup>20</sup> Y. Godard, "Pièces datées de céramique de Kāshān à décor lustrée," *Atthār-e Īrān*, II (1937), Pt. II, 336. This article reproduces a glazed pottery tombstone, found near Abarqūh, now in the Shiraz Museum. It is dated 809 H. (1406 A.D.). The ornament in blue and black is unmistakable. Here is an imitation of Chinese ornament close

on the death of Timur and contemporary with the very early days of the Ching-té Chên factory.

<sup>21</sup> In fact copying something which was already a copy. The "grammar" of Ching-té Chên was a revival of the Buddhist art of the T'ang dynasty, in itself an imported and mass-produced article, an Indian compound of Hellenism and late Babylonian art.

by the Ottoman Turks in 1424.<sup>22</sup> These two points of contact therefore do not appear to be contemporary.

The earliest bowls, supposed to come from Kūbachī, have little in common with the many polychrome pieces which were found there, and which date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The three big plates lent by Mr. Kelekian to the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Figs. 8, 9, and 11*) might belong to the thirteenth century, except for a certain formality and stressing of the symmetrical. The technique, a black slip scraped away and incised under a thick turquoise blue or emerald green glaze, is in essence a thirteenth-century one, and the drawing of the duck in Figure 11 is not unworthy of the thirteenth century. In comparing the three "Kūbachī" pieces with two fragments from the German excavations at Miletus (*Figs. 5 and 6*) some resemblances may be noticed. The Miletus fragments are decorated in a somber blackish blue on a gray or yellow slip, and the glaze is mat and unassuming, whereas in the "Kūbachī" plates it is rich and metallic. If this difference of quality is discounted, they have much in common. In Figures 8 and 9, as well as in Figures 5 and 6, there are spiral whorls and meander patterns, the former an element from Ch'ing-té Chên, from which also they derive a lotus-lily decoration, which seems to be executed with a single stroke of the brush. Still more closely linked is the tendency, common to both types, of building up the design in black silhouette.

"Kūbachī" and "Miletus" are so closely linked that one may suppose the former ware to have been made prior to the date 873 H. (1468 A.D.) easily readable on Figure 9, and the latter subsequent to the Ottoman conquest of 1424, and that at one stage the output of these two anonymous kiln sites, one Persian, the other Anatolian, must have been simultaneous.

In the center of the fragment reproduced in Figure 6 there occurs a motif, found in other "Miletus" pieces, a stylized flower with narrow petals which suggest the spokes of a wheel. This flower occurs on the Damascus tiles of 1426, and on a "Kūbachī" plate inscribed with the date 885 H. (1480 A.D.) in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (*Fig. 12*). This provides a further link in the chain between "Kūbachī" and "Miletus." Later I hope to show that through such coastal workshops as the unknown home of "Miletus" ware, Islamic pottery of the age of Timur spread its influence as far as Italy.

The foregoing comparisons provide more or less positively dated criteria for examining anonymous pottery, and I propose to use them, rather than the too easily accepted attributions of dealers. Following this method I have been obliged to revise one of my opinions. Figure 7 shows a fragment of a bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. C. 294-1931, which I excavated in the Kish region in Iraq in 1930. In a previous number of *Ars Islamica*,<sup>23</sup> I have described it as fourteenth century. I now consider that the site from which it was dug, a small Arab town, continued at least as late as the fifteenth century, for there can be no doubt of the relationship of this fragment both to "Miletus" and "Kūbachī."

<sup>22</sup> F. Sarre, *Das islamische Milet* (Berlin, 1935), III, Hft. 4, 87.

<sup>23</sup> G. Reitlinger, "Islamic Pottery from Kish," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 2 (1935), 211.



The "Kūbachī" plates, made at the end of the fifteenth century, whether they were really produced in such a barbarous region, or whether they came across the mountains from Ardebil two hundred miles to the south, as I think probable, are in a direct tradition of Persian and Syrian pottery. There is no difficulty in linking them by successive stages with pottery of the thirteenth century. But almost immediately afterwards the same place of manufacture, perhaps Ardebil, now the first capital of the Safawids, produced a ware strikingly different, full of ornamental forms for which neither Persian potters' tradition nor the influence of Ming porcelain can account. So, too, in Anatolia the output of "Miletus" ceased; before the end of the fifteenth century that of Isnik may have begun (if Migeon's dating for the blue-and-white mosque lamps in the Istanbul museum is accepted),<sup>24</sup> and here the divorce from the past was even greater. I have already shown how the "mechanical" character of Isnik pottery is partly anticipated by the Damascus tiles of 1426, in which a common Isnik motif, the wavy tree, already figures strongly. The intermediate stage between these tiles and Isnik ware must perhaps be sought in Damascus itself, where pottery in the sixteenth century has an intimate relation to Isnik.<sup>25</sup> The formalized flowers, garish and alien to the spirit of earlier Islamic art, are puzzling. A foreign influence, perhaps Indian, might be suspected. I am inclined, however, to look for these flowers in a group of fragments which are not generally considered in this connection—the Fuṣṭāṭ fragments of the eclectic period of the potter signatures, which I believe, on the analogy of the Damascus tiles, to be fifteenth and even sixteenth century, rather than fourteenth. If a large collection of these fragments is examined, they will be found to show in a more rudimentary form all the tree and flower varieties of Isnik, as well as the tendency to use a more heavily fired clay and more durable glazes. The subject is outside the scope of this article, but it should be pursued. The Ottoman wares developed the formalism of the Egyptian potters, already a cosmopolitan class, to judge from their signatures, whereas the "Kūbachī" ware, though it may have borrowed from Egypt and Syria as well as from Iraq and Anatolia in that age of cosmopolitan culture, remained truer in spirit to Persian tradition. The pieces which I am about to describe illustrate the survival of this tradition, as well as the mysterious play of outside influences.

*Figure 10.*—This shallow bowl with a flat base, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. C.352-1926, is one of the familiar types of "Varāmīn" ware. The design is painted in a purple brown, derived from manganese, on a light blue-green slip, and the glaze is thin and brittle. A bowl of this type formerly belonging to Doucet, but now in the Oscar Raphael col-

<sup>24</sup> G. Migeon and A. Sakisian, "Les faïences d'Asie-Mineure du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLIV (1923), 125.

<sup>25</sup> R. M. Riefstahl ("Early Turkish Tile Revêtements from Edirne," *Ars Islamica*, IV [1937], Figs. 3-11) reproduces a series of hexagonal tiles from the mosque of Murādiye Djāmi' in Edirne which he dates in the year 1433 A.D., for no other reason than this: an inscription

records that the mosque was built in that year! No one need be surprised at such excessive formalism as these poor tiles exhibit. The old-fashioned collector of "Rhodian" knows them well. They date at the earliest from the end of the sixteenth century. This is an example of the danger of averting one's gaze from anything but an inscription which happens to be within fifty yards of the object.



FIG. 14—BOWL WITH DARK COBALT UNDERGLAZE  
PAINTING ON YELLOWISH SLIP. "MILETUS"  
WARE, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION



FIG. 15—DISH WITH BLUE PAINTING ON WHITE  
GROUND, WITH "MILETUS" AFFINITIES  
"VARĀMĪN" WARE, FOURTEENTH TO  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION



FIG. 16—BOWL WITH CHÊNG-TÉ CHÊN MOTIFS  
PAINTED IN PALE BLUE ON GREEN  
"VARĀMĪN" WARE, EARLY  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, H. S. REITLINGER COLLECTION



FIG. 17—BOWL WITH LIGHT BLUE AND GREEN  
PAINTING ON WHITE SLIP. "VARĀMĪN"  
WARE, FOURTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH  
CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION





FIG. 18

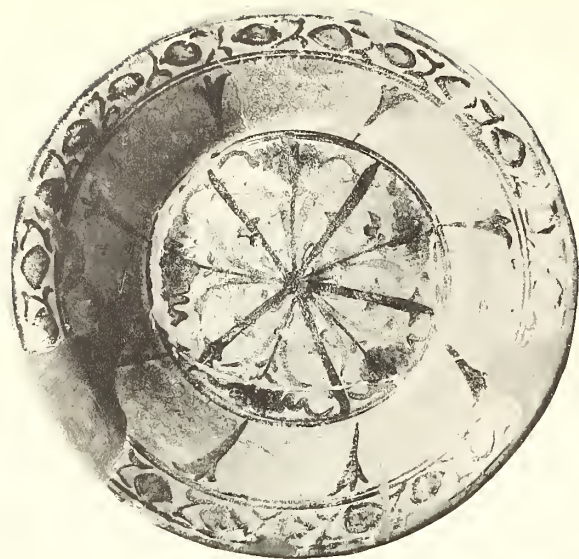


FIG. 19



FIG. 21

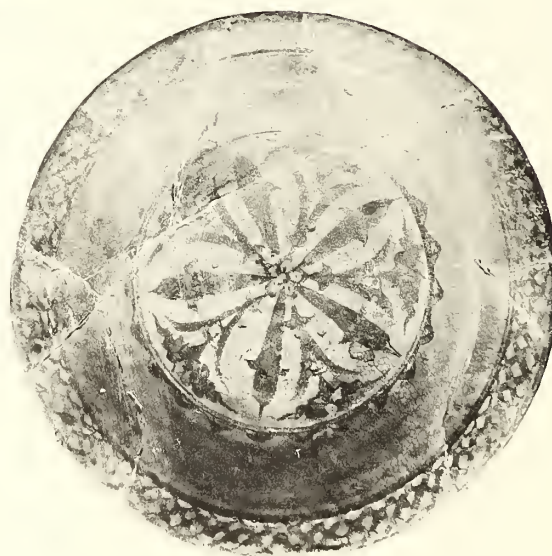


FIG. 20

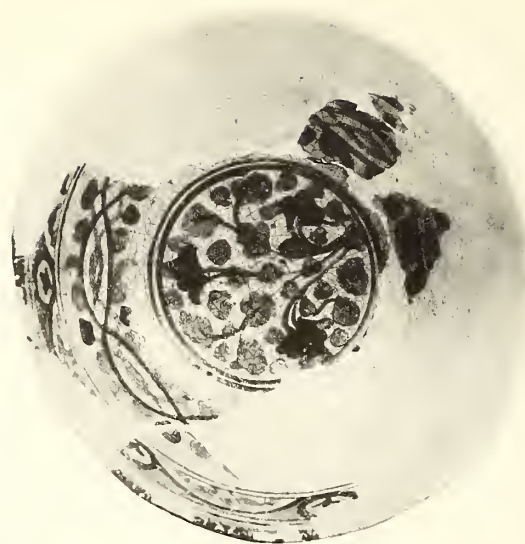


FIG. 22

FIG. 18—BOWL, "VARĀMĪN" WARE, LATE FIFTEENTH OR EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

FIGS. 19-21—DISHS PAINTED ON PINKISH SLIP. "VARĀMĪN" WARE, ABOUT 1500 A.D.

FIG. 22—BOWL SHOWING AFFINITIES WITH "VARĀMĪN" WARE, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

FIG. 18—LONDON, H. S. REITLINGER COLLECTION; FIGS. 19-22—BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION



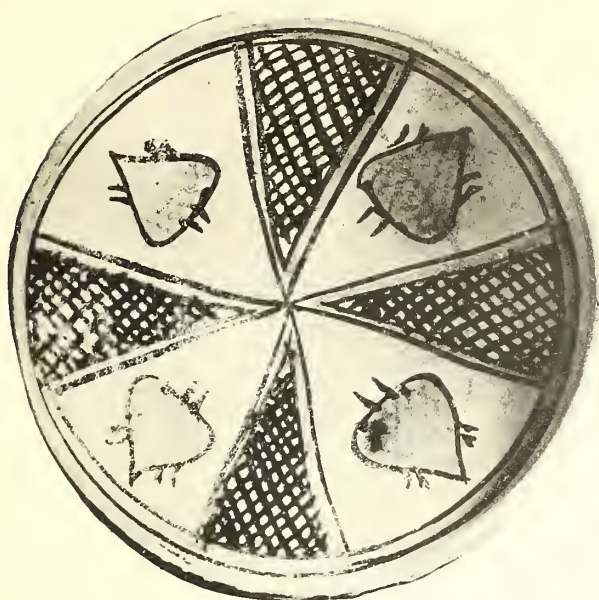


FIG. 23



FIG. 24

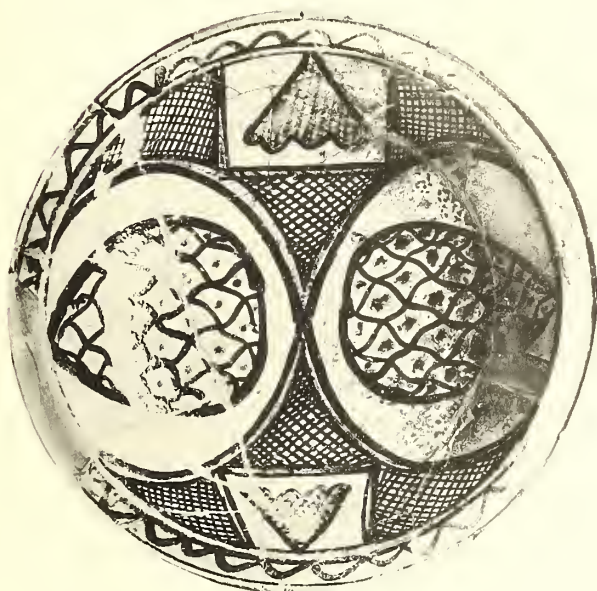


FIG. 25



FIG. 26

SHALLOW BOWLS PAINTED IN LIGHT BLUE-GREEN AND PURPLE, SO-CALLED "CROSS-HATCHED" WARE  
SHOWING AFFINITIES WITH "ORVIETO" WARE. NORTH PERSIAN, FOURTEENTH AND  
FIRST HALF OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION





FIG. 27

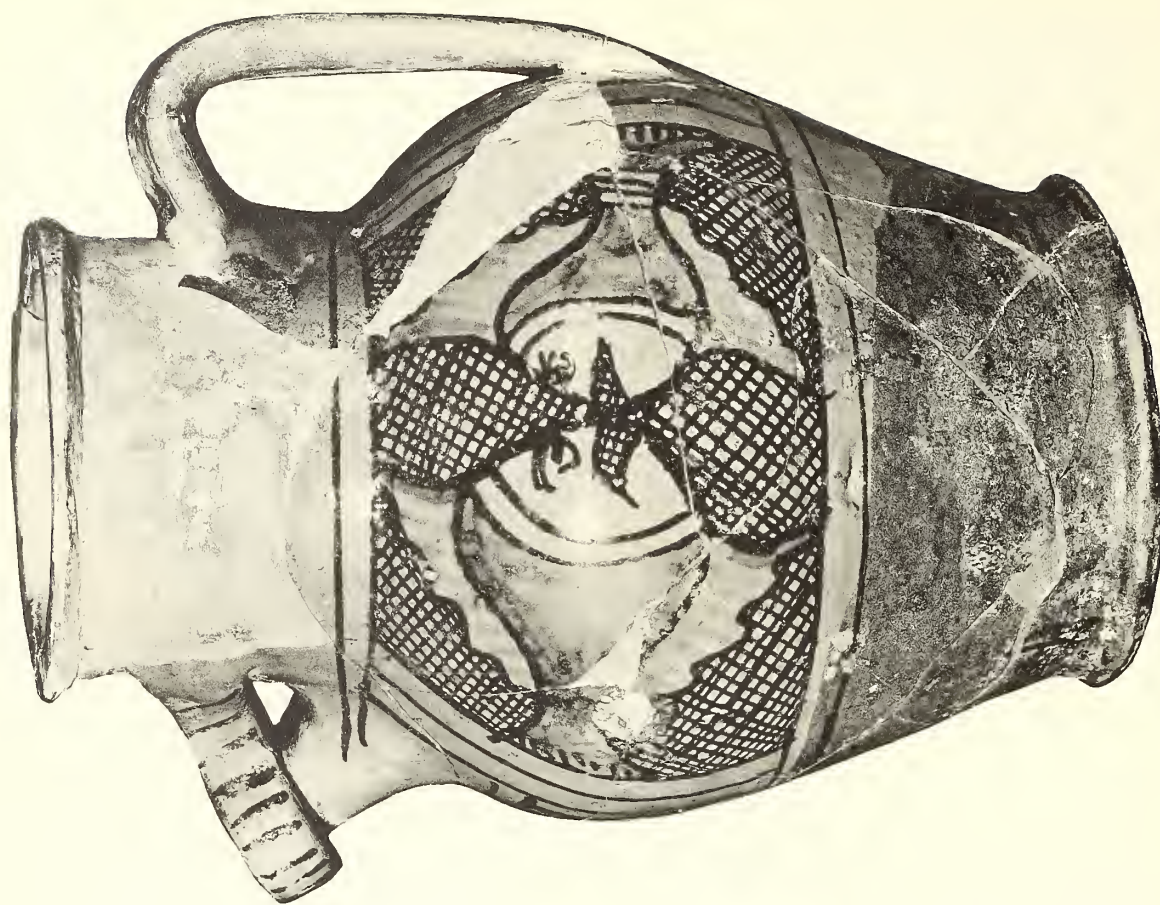


FIG. 28

VESSELS WITH DESIGNS IN HATCHED BACKGROUND. "ORVIETO" WARE. EXCAVATED AT ORVIETO, 1400-50 A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, KELEKIAN COLLECTION, AND VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

lection, was reproduced as long ago as 1913 by H. Rivière under the mistaken attribution of "Egypt or Syria, ninth–twelfth century."<sup>26</sup> In common with the bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the bowl which I reproduce in Figure 16, it has a chevron decoration of brush strokes on the flat flange of the rim. The design represents two ducks and a palm tree with three branches. The palm tree has a close resemblance to some of the later Fustāṭ fragments and to the Damascus tiles.

Reverting to the bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, it will be seen at once that the design in the center is a summary version of the peculiar crablike ornament in the "Kūbachī" plate shown in Figure 8, which in turn has its origin in Chinese blue-and-white porcelain. The "Varāmīn" piece seems nevertheless a long way from the perfection of the "Kūbachī" plate. For the fifteenth century the technique is anachronistic. Specimens of manganese painting on blue which I found in Iraq date probably from the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup> This conservative quality is typical of all the alleged "Varāmīn" pieces. They are peasant pottery and give only an indirect clue to the forerunners of the resplendent "Kūbachī" tradition.

*Figure 13.*—In this fragment of a bowl with straight sides from the H. S. Reitlinger collection all the features of "Kūbachī" ware which I have enumerated occur, but the drawing is clumsy and peasantish, and, though the technique is similar, the glaze does not bear comparison with the "Kūbachī" plates. There is not sufficient evidence to establish whether or not the clumsier style of Figures 10 and 13 is an earlier stage in the evolution of "Kūbachī," or a barbarous imitation. The conservative method of potting and glazing suggests a much earlier period, but it is far more likely that this is no more than a survival.

*Figure 14.*—This bowl was procured from an Istanbul dealer who maintained that it came from Kütahya. Its place of origin must remain a mystery, but there can be no question as to its family. The yellowish slip, dark cobalt underglaze painting, the heavy dark red clay of the body, and the decoration on the outside in wide, green, pointed brush strokes compare exactly with the fragments found at Miletus and published by Professor Sarre. I include it here for comparison with two "Varāmīn" bowls which should date from the same period, the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

*Figure 15.*—The effeminate blue of this piece contrasts with the almost black color of Figure 14 in the same ratio as the racial characters of Persia and Anatolia. Both pieces have a border resembling the eyes in a peacock's tail, one of the commonest of designs in "Varāmīn" pottery. This particular "Varāmīn" piece has, however, an element which I have seen in no other example, but which is closely reproduced in the "Miletus" bowl—a hatching of blue lines, parallel with the edge of the bowl. Professor Sarre<sup>28</sup> has pointed out a connection between the dark blue wares of Miletus and the "oak-leaf-pattern jars" made at Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the "Varāmīn" example, with its blobs of blue color and exceptionally white ground, the resemblance is still more marked.

<sup>26</sup> H. Rivière, *La Céramique dans l'art musulman* (Paris, 1913), Pl. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Reitlinger, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>28</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–87.



*Figure 16.*—This bowl from the H. S. Reitlinger collection illustrates another technique of “Varāmīn” pottery decoration. The slip is pale green, and the designs are painted on it in a thin blue pigment, giving a transparent effect like water color. The design is orthodox Fustāt or Damascus, and derives almost entirely from blue-and-white porcelain. The stylized flower in the center is common at Fustāt and seems to be the ancestor of such flowers in sixteenth-century pottery.

*Figure 17.*—This is another “Varāmīn” piece, remarkable for its peasant character. In coloring it is very different from Figure 15, the painting on the white slip being in a very light transparent blue and green recalling later polychrome wares. Even more than Figure 15 it seems to link up with the beginnings of the European tradition of polychrome pottery.

*Figure 18.*—This very roughly decorated bowl from the H. S. Reitlinger collection, with the peacock’s tail border common to the preceding examples, seems to mark yet a further stage towards the polychrome wares of the sixteenth century. Besides the white slip four colors are employed—light green, light blue, gray-black, and manganese purple. Only the sealing-wax red bole of the sixteenth-century wares is lacking. Certain elements, too, in the drawing suggest Isnik—the inner border of lozenges and the stylization of the two cypress trees resembling peacock feathers. These elements occur in the later Fustāt fragments, and though they appear in Isnik ware as something new and startling they are derived by a process, of which many steps are missing, from the familiar range of ornament of the thirteenth century. This bowl is one of the later “Varāmīn” pieces, perhaps as late as the year 1500.

#### PIECES WITH A PINKISH SLIP

The “Varāmīn” pieces so far discussed are homogeneous, insofar as the material of their body and glaze is concerned. There is no reason why they should not come from the same kiln site, and there is no reason, in the absence of proof to the contrary, why this site should not be Varāmīn. I turn now to two families of pottery which seem to have other characteristics and which I believe to have been made, if not found, at some other place.

The three large shallow dishes shown in Figures 19, 20, and 21 are of the same size, 30 centimeters in diameter, and appear almost to have made a set. They have a peculiar wide shallow flange to the base. The clay is more yellow than is the case in most “Varāmīn” pieces, but in places it blooms into a rich red color, which is responsible for the pink patches in the white slip. The glaze is soft and creamy and runs to crackles, as in the later polychrome ware of “Kūbachī,” which is also liable to pink patches owing to the coloring of the clay. The painting in Figures 19 and 21 is in light brown-black and steel blue, but Figure 20 is carried out entirely in pale cobalt blue. The designs of Figures 19 and 20 are closely akin. The Chinese lotus lilies are used in conjunction with a decoration of reeds in the manner of Fustāt and “Kūbachī.” They are not particularly distinguished examples of a style of decoration which can be studied elsewhere. Figure 21, however, with its drawing of a wounded antelope, presents fresh problems. This drawing in precise outline, filled in as if with water color, is a com-

plete break with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century tradition. So, too, is the disproportionately wide border, which recalls the later polychrome wares with their realistic scenes in the style of the miniatures. I would suggest a late date in the neighborhood of the year 1500 for these three pieces. They are important as a link between the dated fifteenth-century "Kūbachī" plates and the later polychrome "Kūbachī" wares.

*Figure 22.*—This was acquired in 1931 in the village of Sulṭānīya in Azerbaijan. It is exceptionally heavy, and this seems a characteristic of other wares found at Sulṭānīya.

In the manner of coloring, the Sulṭānīya piece seems to relate to the three dishes which are illustrated with it. The principal difference is in the very formal character of the design on the Sulṭānīya piece, which resembles the tiles from Damascus (*Fig. 1*) with which it may be nearly contemporary.

#### A LINK WITH ORVIETO

The four shallow bowls illustrated in Figures 23–26, apart from a community of design based on panels of close crosshatching, are uniformly painted in blue-green and manganese purple. Beyond this, their relationship ceases. Almost every piece of this fairly abundant group exhibits special characteristics. The clay varies from bright red to gray-black, the glaze from mat and salty to a high tin burnish. Some of the bases are hand made, some turned on the wheel. Some are painted on white slip, others on the body of the clay, so that the designs appear on a brown ground. It is evident that they are the produce of a number of kilns. These bowls and dishes are heavy utilitarian objects on a lower plane of craftsmanship than the pottery which has survived from the thirteenth century. They are closely related to the heavy wares found in the region of Nīliya in Iraq,<sup>29</sup> and like them are to be dated, without any degree of conciseness, in the fourteenth century, with a long overlap into the fifteenth. The rococco arrangement of Figure 24 is to be compared with the "Kūbachī" plate dated 1468 (*Fig. 9*) and the late Sultanabad pieces. It may be as old as the reign of Timur, but it is to be noticed that this large dish (34 centimeters across) has a lead glaze almost as fine as the "Kūbachī" plates. Further light on the period of these wares is provided by Figure 26, an intact piece in perfect condition. The peculiar motif in the four panels is clearly a degradation of the reed-and-lotus motifs in Figures 13, 19, and 20. This too cannot be far from the period of the first "Kūbachī" plates. Figures 23 and 24 are not necessarily so late. The vigor of the drawing in Figure 25 is remarkable, as is the splendid balance of the ornament; both of these have the quality of more primitive Islamic wares, and suggest a period far earlier than the fourteenth century, which is the earliest that can be assigned to them.<sup>30</sup> Figure 23 is painted in a very vivid blue and a light manganese purple on a white slip under a bluish overglaze.

<sup>29</sup> Reitlinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>30</sup> Knotted designs on crosshatched backgrounds similar to these occur in pottery recently excavated in the Sabz Pūshān and Alp Arslān mounds at Nishapur in

northeast Persia. They can be dated by coins in the same deposits to a period which can scarcely be later than the early ninth century (W. Hauser, J. M. Upton, and C. K. Wilkinson, "The Īrānīan Expedition, 1937. The



The common denominators of this family of wares, the crosshatching in broad strokes of manganese, the light blue-green pigment, the dull-colored ground, and above all the wavy band in the border shown in Figures 25 and 26, are found together in two other families of pottery—the wares from Nīliya in Iraq, and the pottery excavated at Orvieto in Italy. In the latter case the repetition of “Varāmīn” motifs is unmistakable. To take two pieces at random from the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 108 in the Kelekian loan collection (*Fig. 27*) shows the figure of a dog on a crosshatched background, while the border in blue-green is exactly similar to that in Figures 25 and 26. No. C.328–1914 in the permanent collection (*Fig. 28*) has fish in the same blue-green color on a hatched background. These excavated wares of Orvieto are generally dated between 1400 and 1450, and may be contemporary with many of the “Varāmīn” pieces. The period was one of renewed contacts with the West, and to it we owe the first detailed and reliable European description of Persia by Clavijo, Castilian legate to Timur. For at least a century there had been Venetian and Genoese traders in Tabriz, and later, at the time of the visit of Caterino Zeno in 1470, metal workers were brought back from Tabriz to Venice. Yet it is hardly likely that such simple pottery as “Varāmīn” ware traveled to Italy from Persia. The link is to be sought in some coastal pottery kiln working in the same style—something in the nature of “Miletus” with its influence on the oak-leaf-pattern jars of Florence. Professor Sarre reproduces fragments of Florentine painted majolica dating<sup>31</sup> from the end of the fifteenth century, found at Miletus. Others have appeared in the rubbish heaps of Fustāt. If Italian pottery crossed the sea at the end of the fifteenth century, there is every reason to suppose that Asiatic pottery did so a century earlier.<sup>32</sup>

#### OTHER TIMURID WARES

The large bowl (diameter 32 centimeters) shown in Figure 29 is typical of the “Varāmīn” group in its technical coarseness and ample scale. Though a less finished product, it has points in common with the “Sultanabad” group. The pigment is a very dark blue like the “Miletus” blue, on a yellowish slip. Other pieces with a range of ornament similar to this, including the peacock’s tail motif, are carried out in light green and black on a white slip. The use of light green in the place of blue is characteristic of a number of pieces said to have been found in Sīstān, which at the time of Timur’s conquest in 1383 A.D. was a far more important region than it is now. The pieces found in this desert region within a short distance of the Timurid capital at Herat are closely linked with “Varāmīn” ware. Others of this type are found in Turkestan, at Samarkand, and at Kulḍja and Urgench in Khwarazm, as well as in Russia.

Museum’s Excavations at Nishāpūr,” *Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum*, XXXIII, No. 11 [1938], Figs. 15 and 16).

<sup>31</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>32</sup> A pale rough glazed ware, decorated with cross-hatched backgrounds and having affinities both with Nīliya ware and Varāmīn, was found in the Pilgrim’s

Castle at ‘Atlīt on the coast of Palestine. To judge from the Gothic character of the drawing, which could hardly be expected in Palestine at the end of the fourteenth century after the extinction of the last Crusader settlements, they were imported from Europe. Victoria and Albert Museum, No. C.35.9–1933.



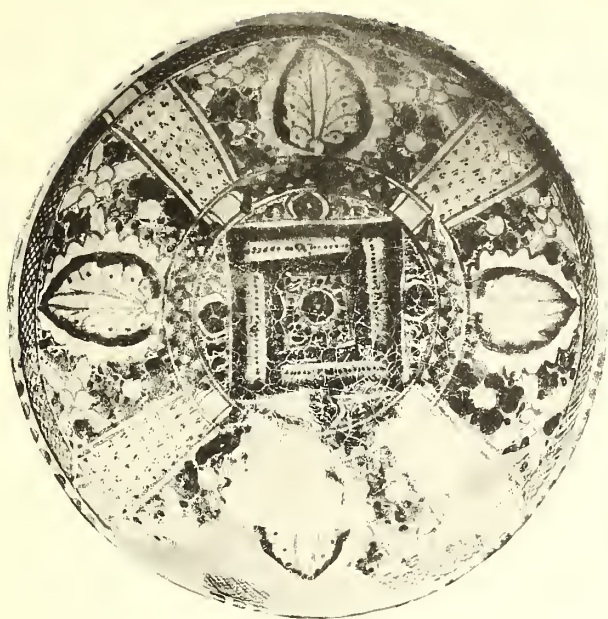


FIG. 29

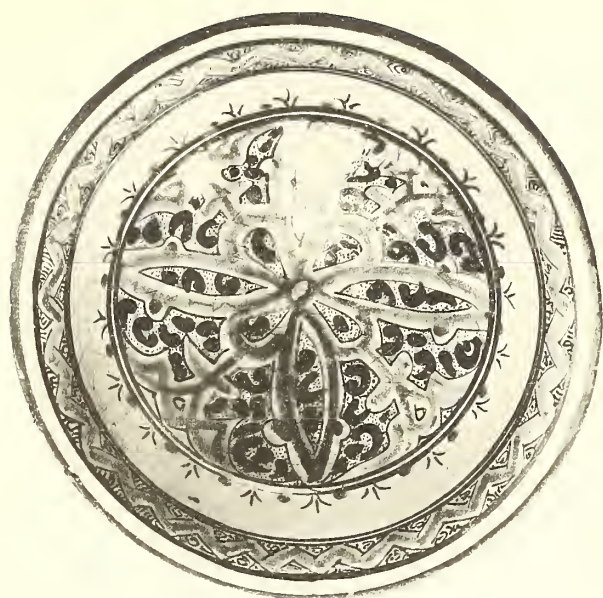


FIG. 30



FIG. 31



FIG. 32

TIMURID WARES OF VARIOUS TYPES, FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION



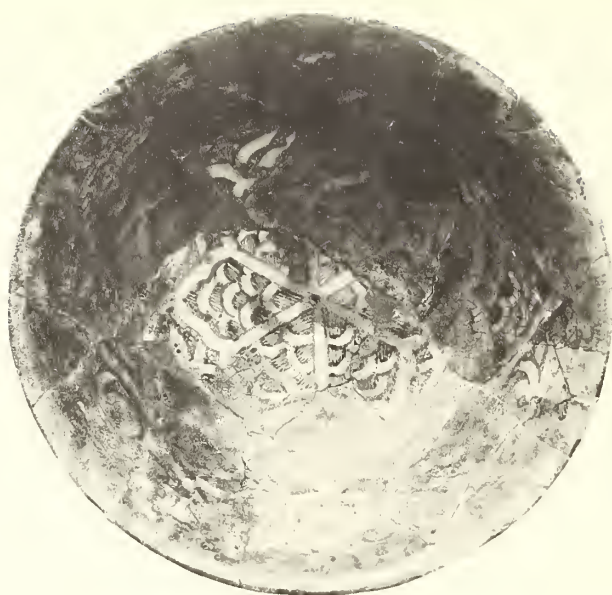


FIG. 33

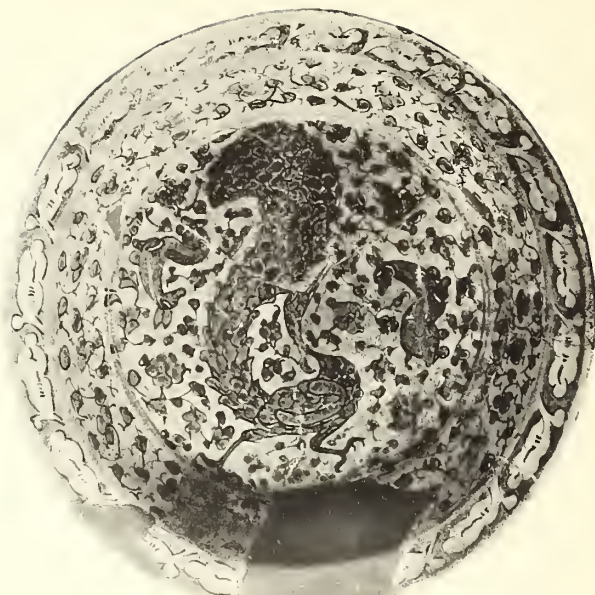


FIG. 34



FIG. 35



FIG. 36

FIGS. 33-35—TIMURID WARES, FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
BECKLEY, GERALD REITLINGER COLLECTION

DISH. "SULTANABAD" WARE, LATE  
FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM  
KELEKIAN COLLECTION

At the Leningrad exhibition of Iranian art in 1935 there were seven whole bowls of the type of Figure 29, with a predominance of light green and peacock-tail motifs, which had been excavated in the ruins of Sarāi on the Volga near Tsaritsin.<sup>33</sup> Sarāi was the capital of the Golden Horde of Tartars who settled there towards the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1395 the Golden Horde Khan, Toḡtamish, who had been strong enough to sack Moscow, succumbed to Timur Lenk, but this did not put an end to Sarāi. It was not taken by the Christian Russians till 1502, and in the meanwhile continued to have a Persian coinage and Muslim rulers in touch with the civilization to the south.<sup>34</sup> The Sarāi bowls belong to the last century of its existence, and must have been imported across the steppes by caravan, perhaps from Merv and Herat, thence by boat across the Caspian and up the Volga.

Figures 30 and 31 are said to have come from Sāva. Both have a slightly outward curl to the lip which is common in wares of the "Varāmīn" family. Unlike them, however, they have a fine metallic glaze, as good as that of the best pottery of the thirteenth century. The design is a degradation of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century tradition, rather than an advance toward the new movement. Technically the glaze is nearer to sixteenth-century pottery, besides which two details betray these bowls as much later products than they at first appear to be. The curious little ornament on the inner border of Figure 30 and the hatching of thin brown straight lines in Figure 31 are both typical of sixteenth-century pottery, both Persian and Isnik. They are transitional pieces to be dated earlier than the sixteenth century—but not very much earlier.

Still more anachronistic contrasts betray themselves in Figure 32, an intact piece of unknown origin possibly never buried in the ground. The jar has a classical shape which suggests Syria rather than Persia, but the drawing and color declare it to be Persian. The ornament is so diverse that it merits detailed analysis. The panels containing vegetable ornaments in thin brush strokes, like the marks of a pen, on the neck and base, are common on Persian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pottery imitating Ming porcelain. The band immediately below the neck is typical Chīng-té Chên ornament. The rococco-shaped panels of crosshatching are vigorously drawn and clearly belong to the family of "Varāmīn" pottery, which has just been described. The figure of a doe looks like degraded Kashan or Sultanabad drawing, but the background of flowers recalls Isnik and the later "Kūbachī" series. Both glaze and pigment are typically fourteenth century and have none of the technical virtuosity of the sixteenth. On the whole I am inclined to attribute this piece to the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

Figure 33 is similar in shape, potting, and glaze to Figures 30 and 31. The very peculiar design is carried out entirely in blue and white, like Figure 31, but in spite of this there are no

<sup>33</sup> Third International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology (Leningrad, 1935), Russian catalogue, pp. 527-29.

<sup>34</sup> S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London, 1893), p. 232.

<sup>35</sup> Y. Godard (*op. cit.*, p. 335) publishes a vase in the

collection of M. C. Clarac which bears the date 870 H. (1468 A.D.) in nastaliq. The vase is closely based on Chīng-té Chên blue-and-white porcelain. Nevertheless in the handling of glaze and color, as well as in the rotundity of form, this unique vase has a family resemblance to Figure 32 and should be a guide to dating it.



Chinese ornamental forms. Radiating scallops are a feature in a particularly attractive group of Isnik pieces. This bowl should be compared with the forerunners of Isnik, the Fustāt fragments, among which there are many in blue and white which show this sort of non-Chinese transitional ornament.

Figures 34 and 35 are shallow dishes 35 centimeters in diameter. Although designed to a standard type, they are certainly not by the same potter and probably not contemporary. Figure 35 has a more somber blue pigment and a more mat glaze, as well as a grayer slip than Figure 34. The drawing is also superior. While the ornament on both dishes is based on Ming blue-and-white porcelain, the coloring is different, the finer strokes being in black pigment. One may note, too, the little rococco panels in the border, typical of the Samarkand Timurid style, and their filling, similar to Figure 32. Whether or not these pieces were made at Sāva or were imported from farther east, cannot at present be known. They are very different from the typical sixteenth-century wares found there, which imitate Chinese models so slavishly as to include whole scenes of Chinese mythology. I believe these two dishes to be of the type of the blue-and-white wares illustrated in fifteenth-century miniatures. The "Varāmīn" pieces are peasant ware, but these two fine dishes are worthy of the service of a court such as that of the Timurid princes at Herat and Merv. It is in the latter direction that still finer examples of what must have been the most sumptuous phase in Persian pottery should be sought.

TEIL I: EUROPÄISCHE UND ISLAMISCHE QUELLEN  
DES 15.–18. JAHRHUNDERTS

RUND DREISSIG JAHRE HATTE DIE DISKUSSION UM DIE PROVENIENZ JENER EIGENARTIGEN, VON allen anderen Gattungen wesentlich abweichenden Teppichen gedauert, die man sich gewöhnt hatte "Damaskusteppiche" zu nennen, als zum ersten Mal die Vermutung ausgesprochen wurde, sie könnten in Ägypten entstanden sein, da ihre Formenwelt an Fustāt-Keramiken und Mamlüken-Bronzen erinnere<sup>1</sup>. Dieser Hinweis fand damals keine Beachtung<sup>2</sup>. Erst zehn Jahre später kam von ganz anderer Seite ein neuer Anstoss in gleicher Richtung. 1920 veröffentlicht der Kieler Orientalist G. Jacob einige schmale Hefte türkischer Urkunden<sup>3</sup>, unter denen sich auch eine Anweisung des Sultans Murād III. an den *Begler beg* von Kairo aus dem Jahre 1585 befindet, ihm elf der dortigen Teppichmeister zu senden<sup>4</sup>. Sarre erkennt die Bedeutung dieser Urkunde und vermutet sofort, dass mit ihr eine Lösung des Problems der "Damaskusteppiche" gegeben sei<sup>5</sup>. Ein Jahr später erscheint eine Arbeit<sup>6</sup> in der er, von den stilistischen Übereinstimmungen mit mamlükischen Türfüllungen, Bucheinbänden und Deckenmalereien ausgehend, die gefundene Urkunde von 1585 benutzt, um die geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppiche" nach Kairo zu lokalisieren, die vegetabil gemusterten einer türkischen Hofmanufaktur in Kleinasien zuzuschreiben. Er nimmt dabei an, dass das Jahr 1585 wohl das Ende dieser ägyptischen Manufaktur bezeichne. 1924 erweitert er in einem zweiten Aufsatz<sup>7</sup> das Vergleichsmaterial um Mosaikfußböden und Bronzearbeiten, versucht auf Grund arabischer Quellen die Manufaktur bis in frühislamische Zeit zurückzuführen, muss aber seine Meinung über das Ende derselben im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert auf Grund des inzwischen bekannt gewordenen Berichtes von Thévenot<sup>8</sup> revidieren. Die Forschung hat sich nach anfänglichem Zögern<sup>9</sup> seiner Zuschreibung im allgemeinen angeschlossen<sup>10</sup>, und es konnte als anerkannt gelten, dass die geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppiche" in Kairo, bzw. in

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Rugs* (New York, 1910), S. XXVI, XXVII, und Abb. Nr. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Nur 1913 wird im *Bull. Boston Mus. Fine Arts* (XI, Nr. 61, S. 2) auf Valentiners Theorie hingewiesen.

<sup>3</sup> G. Jacob, *Deutsche Übersetzungen türkischer Urkunden... Oriental. Seminar zu Kiel*, Hft. 4 (1920), Document Nr. 50, S. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 5.

<sup>5</sup> F. Sarre, "Neue Forschungen und Dokumente zur türkischen Kunstgeschichte", *Kunstchronik*, N. F., XXXI (1920), S. 773–77.

<sup>6</sup> F. Sarre, "Die ägyptische Herkunft der sogenannten Damaskus-Teppiche", *Ztschr. f. bild. Kunst*, XXXII

(1921), S. 75–82.

<sup>7</sup> F. Sarre, "Die ägyptischen Teppiche", *Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, I (1924), S. 19–23.

<sup>8</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 20.

<sup>9</sup> z.B. E. Kühnel in W. von Bode und E. Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche* (Leipzig, 1923), 3. Aufl., S. 49.

<sup>10</sup> z.B. A. U. Pope, "Review of 'Old Oriental Carpets' by F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald," *Art Bull.*, IX (1925–26), S. 164 ff.; K. Erdmann, "Ägyptische Teppiche", *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 196–200; derselbe, "Some Observations on the So-called Damascus-Rugs," *Art in America*, XIX (1930), S. 3–22.



Ägypten, im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert entstanden sind, während die vegetabil gemusterten Teppiche in enger Verbindung mit ihnen in einer wohl in Kleinasien gelegenen Hofmanufaktur gefertigt wurden. Neuerdings ist nun die Frage von S. Troll wieder aufgerollt worden, der, von technischen Untersuchungen ausgehend, die enge Verwandtschaft der beiden Gruppen betont und, da ihn weder die Quellen, noch die von Sarre herangezogenen stilistischen Vergleiche überzeugen, für beide Gruppen eine gemeinsame Entstehung in einer kleinasiatischen Hofwerkstätte annimmt<sup>11</sup>.

Bei den Bemühungen um die Lösung des Problems haben Urkunden eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Der Befehl Murāds III. von 1585 gab den entscheidenden Anstoss, der Bericht Thévenots brachte wertvolle Bereicherungen. Dagegen konnten das Kommissionsurteil über die Vorschläge Jehan Fortiers aus dem Jahre 1604<sup>12</sup> und das Inventar der Yeni *Djāmi*<sup>13</sup> bisher nur in bescheidenem Umfang verwertet werden. Kürzlich tauchte endlich der Hinweis auf, dass der bekannte italienische Reisende Barbaro in Tabriz Teppiche aus Kairo erwähne<sup>14</sup>. Die Zahl der vorhandenen Belege ist wesentlich grösser. Die folgende Zusammenstellung ist nicht das Ergebnis systematischen Suchens, sondern im Laufe der letzten Jahre mit anderen Notizen gesammelt. Die Tatsache ihrer fast unabsichtlichen Entstehung lässt vermuten, dass sie noch sehr ergänzungsfähig ist. Wenn wir sie trotzdem heute vorlegen, so geschieht es in dem Wunsch, durch ihre Veröffentlichung zu dieser Ergänzung anzuregen.

Nr. 1. Die früheste Erwähnung kairener Teppiche findet sich in dem *Viaggi . . . in Persia* des Giosaphat Barbaro, der 1474 Tabriz besuchte und bei der Beschreibung des Palastes von einigen Zelten (*padiglioni*) sagt:

Questi tutti havevan le loro camere dentro, e le coperte stratagliate de diversi colori, e al basso tapeti bellissimi; tra i quali è quelli del Cairo e di Borsa (al mio giuditio) è tanta differentia quanta è tra li panni di lana francesca, e quelli di lana di san Mattheo.<sup>15</sup>

Barbaro spricht an verschiedenen vorangehenden Stellen bewundernd von den Teppichen, die er bei seinem Besuch im Palast sah. Z.B. auf S. 33: "E... tutta la loggia era coperta di tapeti", S. 34 "...furono messi mantili attorno su li tapeti", S. 36: "...e nella parte inferiore d'ognintorno coperta di tapeti bellissimi", endlich S. 38: "fece poi portare alcuni tapeti bellissimi lavorati di seta". Ob die von ihm im Innern der Zelte

<sup>11</sup> S. Troll, "Damaskus-Teppiche", *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), S. 201-31.

<sup>12</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 11.

<sup>13</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 21.

<sup>14</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Kāli", *Supplementbd. d. Encycl.*

*d. Islām.*, S. 111.

<sup>15</sup> G. Barbaro und A. Contarini, *Viaggi fatti da Venezia alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Costantinopoli . . .* (Venezia, 1543), S. 38 verso.

bewunderten Teppiche auch aus Seide waren, geht aus seinen Worten nicht klar hervor. Jedenfalls schienen sie ihm den Teppichen aus Kairo und Brussa überlegen<sup>16</sup>. Der Vergleich mit den wollenen Geweben lässt keine Rückschlüsse zu, da nicht bekannt ist, was er mit den "panni di lana di San Mattheo" meint<sup>17</sup>. Offenbar will er feine französische Stoffe in Gegensatz zu gröberen seiner Heimat stellen<sup>18</sup>.

Einem venezianischen Reisenden des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts waren also zwei Gruppen von Orientteppichen, und zwar, wie der Bericht deutlich erkennen lässt, nicht etwa durch seine Reise, sondern von Haus aus, bekannt und vertraut. Diese beiden Gruppen werden nach ihrer Herkunft unterschieden in Teppiche aus Kairo und Teppiche aus Brussa, d.h. also, wenn wir den Ortsnamen zunächst mit einiger Reserve gegenüberstellen, in Teppiche, die aus der osmanischen Türkei und Teppiche, die aus dem mamlükischen Ägypten kamen. Die Art seiner Angabe gibt uns das Recht, in diesen beiden Gattungen die Hauptgruppen der damals im Abendland vorhandenen Orientteppiche zu sehen.

Es liegt nahe, diese Angabe in Verbindung zu bringen mit den gleichzeitigen oder wenig späteren Eintragungen in venezianischen Inventaren und Urkunden<sup>19</sup>. Auch in ihnen ist in der Hauptsache von zwei Gruppen die Rede, die als "tapedi turcheschi" und "tapedi damaschini" unterschieden werden. Neben diesen spielen die meist mit den "tapedi turcheschi" zusammen genannten "tapedi rodioi"<sup>20</sup> und die "tapedi barbareschi"<sup>21</sup> nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Gewiss, die Angaben sind summarisch, Musterbeschreibungen fehlen durchweg, und beide Gattungen kommen nebeneinander in verschiedener Verwen-

<sup>16</sup> R. Ettinghausens Bemerkung "Barbaro, ein italienischer Reisender des XV. Jahrh., spricht von ägyptischen Teppichen in Tabriz" ist zwar nicht falsch, aber irreführend.

<sup>17</sup> R. Mendez Silva erwähnt in seiner *Población general de España* (Madrid, 1645), c. 47, S. 215, eine "Villa de San Mateo", von der er rühmt: "Es fertilissima de ganados en dilatados pastos de cuyas lanas labra finissimos pannos". Es entbehrt aber jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass zwischen diesen Geweben und den von Barbaro genannten ein Zusammenhang besteht. Übrigens übersetzt die engl. Ausgabe von 1873 die Stelle: "... there is as much difference as between the clothes made of Englishe woollens and those of Saint Mathewes."

<sup>18</sup> Herr Geheimrat von Falke war so liebenswürdig, sich zu dieser Stelle zu äussern. Er schreibt (Brief vom 2. 9. 1936): "Über Wollstoffe des 15. Jh., die im Mittelalter doch meist ungemustert waren, sind mir weder französische noch italienische Nachrichten bekannt. Ich denke mir, dass Barbaro Perserteppiche aus besonders feiner, weicher und glänzender Wolle gesehen hat, und ihre Wirkung mit sehr feinen französischen Tüchern im

Gegensatz zu groben Stoffen seiner Heimat vergleicht".

<sup>19</sup> Das von Ludwig in venezianischen Archiven gesammelte Material ist leider nur zu geringen Teilen veröffentlicht. Vergl. W. von Bode, "Zu F. R. Martins 'A History of Oriental Carpets,'" *Monatsch. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1908, S. 924-27. Über die Sendung von sechzig "Damascene rugs" an den Kardinal Wolsey zwischen 1518 und 1520 vergl. A. F. Kendrick, "English Carpets," *Journ. Royal Soc. Arts*, 1919, Jan. 24, S. 138 ff., das. S. 145 ff. ergänzende Mitteilungen von G. P. Baker.

<sup>20</sup> Vielleicht stehen diese "tapedi rodioi" im Zusammenhang mit den "tapis rhodiens" oder auch "tapis de Turquie Rhodien", die in französischen Inventaren des 17. Jahrhunderts erwähnt werden (z.B. im Inventar der Veuve Phéliepeaux von 1633 und im Inventar des Hôtel de Soissons von 1644).

<sup>21</sup> "Tapits barberechs" werden als Nr. 1600 des Inventars Königs Martin von 1410 erwähnt. Vergl. J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del rey Marti d' Aragó," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), S. 552, dazu auch A. van de Put, "Some Fifteenth Century Spanish Carpets," *Burlington Mag.*, XIX (1911), S. 347.



dung als "tapedi da terra," "tapedi da descho" und "tapedi da cassa" vor<sup>22</sup>. Ausserdem ist der Bezeichnung "damaschino" gegenüber Vorsicht geboten, da sie häufig in weitem Sinne gebraucht wird<sup>23</sup>, ja manchmal kaum mehr zu bedeuten scheint als "Arbeit im orientalischen Stil"<sup>24</sup>. Aber selbst mit diesen Einschränkungen bleibt als Tatbestand, dass auch in den Urkunden zwei Hauptgruppen von Orientteppichen unterschieden werden, von denen der Name der einen in osmanisches, der der anderen, wenn er überhaupt eine Provenienz angeben soll<sup>25</sup>, in mamlükisches Gebiet weist.

Da beide Aussagen, die Barbaros und die der Urkunden, aus dem gleichen Kreis stammen und zeitlich nahe bei einander liegen, wird man sie in Übereinstimmung bringen dürfen. Man wird dabei in den "tapedi turcheschi" die Teppiche erkennen können, für die der unterrichtete Reisende die Gegend von Brussa als Herstellungsgebiet angibt. Damit liegt der Schluss nahe, in der zweiten Gruppe, den "tapedi damaschini", die Teppiche zu erkennen, für die er Kairo als Herstellungsgebiet nennt.

Es bleibt eine Möglichkeit zur Kontrolle. Der Teppichbesitz Venedigs, der in den Inventaren dokumentarisch belegt ist, spiegelt sich in der Malerei dieser Stadt. Zahlreich sind die Darstellungen von Orientteppichen auf den Bildern und Fresken der Meister des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Die meisten geben Teppiche wieder, die man zur Gruppe der "tapedi turcheschi" rechnen muss. Vielleicht wird es einmal möglich sein, aus dieser Gruppe die "tapedi roditi" und die "tapedi barbareschi" auszusondern. Daneben finden sich eine Anzahl von Darstellungen, auf denen man die eigenartigen und durchaus abweichenden Formen der sogenannten "Damaskusteppiche" erkennen kann. Die mir bekannten Beispiele sind:

1. Marco Marziale, "Beschneidung Christi", datiert 1499, Venedig, Museo Correr: als

<sup>22</sup> z.B. heisst es in einem Inventar vom 13. VIII. 1511: "Do tapedi grandi vecchi da terra; tapedi 6 usati turcheschi tra grandi e mezani; e uno tapedo damaschino vecchio da descho; tapedi 6 damaschini da cassa e uno grosso che fono no. 7".

<sup>23</sup> Bei den 1379 im Inventar Karls V. von Frankreich genannten "unze tappis à fleurs de lys que grans que petiz à l'œuvre de Damas" kann es sich ebenso wenig um orientalische Arbeiten handeln, wie bei dem in einer Urkunde von 1411 aufgeführten "tapiz de sale de la facon de Damas des sept pechiez mortels" (V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique* [Paris, 1928], II, S. 379).

<sup>24</sup> Aufschlussreich ist in dieser Beziehung die Beschreibung von offenbar abendländischen Edelmetallarbeiten im Inventar des Louis d'Anjou von 1361, wo es unter anderem heisst "un pot d'argent... a une devize cizelé de lettres de Damas..." oder im Inventar Karls V. von 1380 "plat d'argent... ou fons a lettres de Damas." Vergl. auch H. Havard, *Dictionnaire d'ameublement*... (Paris, 1894): "Lettres de Damas: On donnait ce nom

...aux caractères arabes, qui entraient dans la décoration des pièces tirées de l'Orient."

<sup>25</sup> Die Frage, wie diese Bezeichnung entstanden ist, ist schwer zu beantworten. Dass in Damaskus Teppiche gefertigt wurden, entbehrt jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit. Man hat daher mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet, dass der Export im wesentlichen über Damaskus ging, und so der Name dieser Stadt Pate stand für die Handelsbezeichnung der Gattung. Auch dafür spricht wenig. Damaskus war zwar die wichtigste Niederlassung der Venezianer in Syrien, aber Alexandria war von gleichem Rang, und es ist nicht einzusehen, wieso die Ausfuhr der in Ägypten gefertigten Teppiche den Umweg über Damaskus nehmen sollte. Es bleibt am wahrscheinlichsten, dass das Wort "damaschino" im geläufigen weiteren Sinn auf diese Teppiche übertragen wurde. Übrigens scheint die Bezeichnung "tapedi damaschini" nur beschränkte Zeit vorwiegend in Venedig in Gebrauch gewesen zu sein und im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts zu verschwinden.

Altardecke, nur eine Ecke zu sehen, ziemlich freie Phantasie über einen "Damaskusteppich".

2. Giovanni Bellini, "Der Doge Leonardo Loredano mit vier Nobili", datiert 1507, Ehemals Sammlung J. Spiridon. Verst. Kat. 1929, Nr. 4: als Tischdecke, grosses Stück mit dem Innenfeld eines "Damaskusteppichs" in schematischer Zeichnung. In der Bordüre den "Holbeintepichen" entlehnte Motive.
  3. Vittore Carpaccio, "Sposalizio", Mailand, Brera, Kat. Nr. 169. Abb. bei P. G. Molmenti und G. Ludwig, *Vittore Carpaccio* (Mailand, 1906), Tafel gegenüber S. 234: grosser Teppich auf den Stufen eines Altars. Muster undeutlich, jedenfalls kaum türkisch. Vermutlich meinen Bode und Kühnel (*op. cit.*, S. 48) diesen Teppich; denn auf der "Disputation des heiligen Georg" desselben Meisters in der Brera, die sie nennen, ist kein Teppich dargestellt.
  4. Vittore Carpaccio, "Der heilige Georg tauft den König und sein Gefolge", um 1508, Venedig, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni. Abb. Molmenti und Ludwig, *op. cit.*, Tafel gegenüber S. 186: als Schmuck einer Estrade. Wenn überhaupt ein Teppich gemeint ist, könnte man das Muster am ehesten als Paraphrase über einen "Damaskusteppich" interpretieren (vergl. auch Nr. 2).
  5. Lorenzo Lotto, "Bildnis des apostolischen Protonotars Giuliano", um 1522, London, National Gallery, Nr. 1105. Abb. B. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto* (London, 1901), Tafel gegenüber S. 150: als Tischdecke. Nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt zu sehen, aber sehr sorgfältig in der Zeichnung.
  6. Bonifazio Veronese, "Der reiche Prasser", 1530-40, Venedig, Accademia, Nr. 291. Abb. D. Westphal, *Bonifazio Veronese* (München, 1931), Abb. 18; farbige Abbildung eines Ausschnitts bei P. G. Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia . . .*, II, S. 408: als Tischdecke, flüchtig gezeichnet, aber eindeutig im Muster, die Farben abweichend, dunkles Muster auf rotem Grund.
  7. F. Beccaruzzi, "Herrenbildnis", Florenz, Uffizien. Abb. *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1921, S. 207, Fig. 15: als Tischdecke, ein Feld deutlich erkennbar, radiale Streumuster wie bei Nr. 5. Die Farben nicht genau wiedergegeben.
  8. Francesco Torbido, "Thronende Madonna mit Heiligen", 1530-40, ehemals Wien, Gemälde-Galerie der Akademie (Kat. ed. 1900, Nr. 28), 1919 an Italien abgetreten: wird bei Bode und Kühnel (*op. cit.*, S. 49) erwähnt.
  9. Lorenzo Lotto, "Die Verherrlichung des Heiligen Antonius", 1542, Venedig, San Giovanni e Paolo. Abb. *L'Arte*, IV, 1901. Abt. *Arte Decorativa*, S. 4: grosser Teppich über der inneren Brüstung hängend. Vom Muster wiederum nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt sichtbar, aber ebenso sorgfältig gezeichnet und vom gleichen Typ (wenn nicht der gleiche Teppich) wie Nr. 5. Schon von Bode und Kühnel erwähnt (*op. cit.*, S. 49), aber, wohl fälschlich, als Beispiel des kleinteilig quadrierten Typs gedeutet.
- 10-15. Moretto, Fresken im Palazzo Salvadego in Brescia, vermutlich Damen des



- Hauses Martinengo darstellend. 2. Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Abb. A. Ugoletti, *Brescia* (Bergamo, 1909), S. 106–7; G. Nicodemi, *Il Moretto da Brescia* (Firenze, 1921), S. 45; *L'Opera del Moretto* (Brescia, 1898), Taf. 20/1: mindestens sechs, vielleicht acht "Damaskusteppiche" über Brüstungen hängend. Die z.T. erstaunlich genaue Wiedergabe der Muster macht diese Darstellungen zu einem Dokument von grösster Bedeutung.
16. G. B. Moroni, "Herrenbildnis", um 1550. 1893 im Besitz von Ch. Fairfax Murray in London: erwähnt von Bode und Kühnel (*op. cit.*, S. 48).
  17. Marco D'Angelo del Moro, "Beschneidung Christi", 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Venedig, Accademia: als Altardecke, zu erkennen nur ein Teil der Borte und ein Stück des Innenfeldes, das bereits die gleichförmige, kleinteilige Quadrierung der späteren "Damaskusteppiche" zeigt.
  - 18–19. Jacopo Tintoretto, Venedig, Palazzo Ducale.
    18. Sala del Collegio, "Il Doge Alvise Mocenigo I. adora il Redentore": Teppich von 6–8 m Länge, gut gezeichnet, in der Borte neben Kartuschen Palmen zwischen zwei Zypressen;
    19. Sala del Senato, "Il Doge Pietro Loredano supplice dinanzi alla Vergine": grosser Teppich, von dem nur die reiche Borte deutlicher gezeichnet ist.
  - 20–21. Jacopo Palma il Giovano, Venedig, Palazzo Ducale.
    20. Sala del Senato, "Venezia riceve omaggi e doni da Brescia, Udine, Padova, Verona . . .": kleiner Teppich, vorwiegend rot mit dunkler Innenzeichnung;
    21. Andito del Maggior Consiglia, "Il Doge Marcantonio Memmo dinanzi alla Vergine" datiert 1615: grosser Teppich, von dem nur die Borte deutlich erkennbar ist.
  22. Leandro Bassano, "Bildnis des Daniel Hopfer II.", 1595–98. Versteigerung der Sammlung Murray, Florenz, in Berlin, 1929, Kat. Nr. 310: als Tischdecke, zu erkennen nur eine Ecke mit nicht sehr deutlicher Zeichnung.
  23. Leandro Bassano, "Bildnis des Alvise Corradini", 1612(?), Padua, Museo Civico. Abb. W. Arslan, *L. Bassano* (Bologna, 1931), Taf. LXXXIX: als Tischdecke, das Muster lebendig, aber deutlich gezeichnet. Zu erkennen sind zwei Quadrate mit radialem Streumuster und ein Feld mit Palmen und Zypressen.

Bode und Kühnel weisen auf die geringe Zahl bildlicher Darstellungen hin und vermuten, dass die "wenig prägnante Zeichnung" die Maler gehindert habe, Teppiche dieses Typs wiederzugeben<sup>26</sup>. In der Tat müssen die Kleinteiligkeit und Einförmigkeit des Musters und die geringen Farbgegensätze eine Abbildung erschwert haben. Die von ihnen genannten vier Beispiele<sup>27</sup> erschöpfen, wie unsere Liste zeigt, das vorhandene Material allerdings nicht, und auch diese erweiterte Liste ist sicherlich nicht vollständig. Sie reicht

<sup>26</sup> Bode und Kühnel, *op. cit.*, S. 48.

<sup>27</sup> Unsere Nummern 3, 8, 9, 16.

aber aus, um zu beweisen, dass Teppiche dieses Typs seit dem Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts bekannt waren und bis ins 17. Jahrhundert beliebt blieben<sup>28</sup>.

Die bildlichen Darstellungen bestätigen also die Aussagen der Dokumente. Auch sie bringen zwei Hauptgruppen, von denen die eine Teppiche umfasst, in denen man anatolische, bzw. türkische Arbeiten erkennen kann, während die andere Teppiche mit den deutlich abweichenden Formen der als "Damaskusteppiche" bezeichneten Gattung wiedergibt<sup>29</sup>. Es liegt dabei nahe, in der einen Gruppe die "tapedi turcheschi", in der anderen die "tapedi damaschini" der Urkunden anzunehmen.

So ergibt sich, dass nach der Notiz Barbaros am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im Abendland zwei grössere Gruppen orientalischer Teppiche bekannt waren, von denen die eine aus mamlūkischem (Kairo), die andere aus osmanischem Gebiet (Brussa) importiert wurde<sup>30</sup>. Im Handel bezeichnete man sie als "tapedi damaschini" und "tapedi turcheschi". Beide Gattungen werden auf Bildern der Zeit wiedergegeben, und diese Darstellungen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass die nach Barbaro aus Kairo stammenden Teppiche, in denen wir die "tapedi damaschini" der Urkunden vermuten dürfen, identisch sind mit jener Gruppe, deren erhaltene Exemplare, man heute gemeinhin als "Damaskusteppiche" bezeichnet.

Nr. 2. So aufschlussreich wie die Stelle bei Barbaro sind leider nur wenige Quellen. Ausserdem klafft zwischen ihr und der nächsten Erwähnung Kairos als Manufakturzentrum von Teppichen eine Lücke von rund hundert Jahren. Um sie bis zu einem gewissen Grad zu überbrücken, möchten wir an zweiter Stelle eine Quelle anführen, die zwar nur mittelbaren Wert hat, insofern aber von Interesse ist, als sie den Hof der Mamlūken kurz vor der Eroberung Kairos durch die Osmanen (1517) schildert.

Es handelt sich um den ausführlichen Bericht des venezianischen Gesandten Marc Antonio Trevisano, der im Jahre 1512 vom Sultan Kānṣūh al-Ghūrī empfangen wurde<sup>31</sup>. In diesem Brief an seinen Bruder schreibt er bei der Schilderung der Reise von Alexandria nach Kairo:

L'orator ebbe la sua cazuola e stete comodamente, el resto meglio se potè, vestiti, sopra tapedi.

In Kairo angekommen beschreibt er den ihm zur Verfügung gestellten Palast:

...e li consoli e marchadanti hanno trovato tapedi da terra grandi, che è un triumpho a intrar in questa caxa.

<sup>28</sup> Dass sie später anscheinend nicht mehr zu belegen sind, hängt z.T. wohl mit dem in der stilistischen Entwicklung der Malerei begründeten Seltenerwerden solcher bildlicher Darstellungen überhaupt zusammen.

<sup>29</sup> Eine gewisse Unstimmigkeit besteht nur in der mengenmässigen Verteilung. Nach den Inventaren sollte man eine viel häufigeres Vorkommen der "tapedi damaschini" auf Bildern erwarten. Man wird dies aber mit der

erwähnten Schwierigkeit der Wiedergabe erklären können.

<sup>30</sup> Wir sehen davon ab, aus der Tatsache, dass Barbaro die Teppiche aus Kairo an erster Stelle nennt, Schlüsse zu ziehen.

<sup>31</sup> M. Sanuto, *Diarii* (Venezia, 1879-1903), XV, S. 193-202. Eine Darstellung dieser Gesandtschaft hat sich in einem Bild der Bellini Schule im Louvre (Nr. 1157) erhalten.



Endlich sagt er bei der Schilderung des Empfanges beim Sultan:

...davanti del suo (des Sultans) mastabè li era in terra per zercha 12 passa de largezza davanti tapedi grandi...

Leider sagt er an keiner Stelle etwas über Aussehen oder Herkunft dieser Teppiche. So beweist sein Bericht nur, dass die Verwendung von Teppichen im mamlükischen Ägypten üblich war, und zwar sowohl als Gegenstand des täglichen Gebrauchs<sup>32</sup>, als auch als Mittel zur Erhöhung der repräsentativen Wirkung. Wichtig ist dabei die wiederholte Betonung der Grösse dieser Teppiche. Für sich alleinstehend würde diese Quelle wenig besagen. In Verbindung mit der an erster Stelle zitierten Angabe Barbaros über Teppiche aus Kairo liegt es dagegen nahe, in diesen "tapedi da terra grandi" einheimische Erzeugnisse zu vermuten.

Nr. 3. Mit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts tauchen in den Inventaren zum ersten Mal kairener Teppiche auf. So werden in einer Urkunde von 1583 genannt:

Trois tapis cayrins bien fins et de moyenne grandeur.<sup>33</sup>

In derselben Urkunde werden aufgeführt:

Deux tappitz persiens auxquels y a de l'or; Ung grand tappis persien tout de soye; trois aultres grand tappis persien fins.<sup>34</sup>

Die drei kairener Teppiche befinden sich also in ausgezeichneter Gesellschaft. Trotzdem werden sie als "sehr fein" bezeichnet, sodass man den Eindruck gewinnt, dass sie mit den besten persischen Erzeugnissen konkurrieren konnten.

Nr. 4. Eine ähnliche Notiz findet sich 1584 im Inventar des Lorenzo Correr:

Un tapedo cagiarin da tavola quadra.<sup>35</sup>

Die Schreibung überrascht, aber eine andere Deutung als "kairenisch" ist nicht möglich. Vielleicht hat der Abschreiber "*cagiarin*" aus "*cajiarin*" verlesen<sup>36</sup>. Im gleichen Inventar werden unter anderen auch aufgeführt:

Un tapedo da tavola persian... un tapedo persian longo otto braza e mezo... un tapedo turchescho da tavola lungo braza diese e mezo...

Es ist dies die erste Erwähnung eines kairener Teppichs in einem venezianischen Inventar, aus denen zu dieser Zeit der Terminus "tapedo damaschino" bereits verschwunden zu sein scheint. Nach dem unter Nr. 1 Gesagten liegt es nahe, das Verschwinden des einen

<sup>32</sup> Vergl. auch Helfrich, *Kurtzer und warhafter Bericht*... (1581): "Die haben auch steinerne Heuser... inwendig seind sie schlecht und gering erbawet/ denn sie achten keine eingebew/Sondern haben ihre gröste zier mit den Tepichten..."

<sup>33</sup> Arch. Nat., Paris K. 529, fol. 12 v.; Gay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Gay, *op. cit.*, II, S. 383.

<sup>35</sup> P. G. Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata* (Bergamo, 1906), II, S. 634.

<sup>36</sup> Gegen diese Annahme spricht, dass im Inventar des Palazzo Cavalli von 1677 (unsere Nummer 23) ebenfalls ein "tapedo gajarin" erwähnt ist.

Namens und das Auftauchen des anderen in Verbindung zu bringen. Das hiesse aber, dass sich gegen das Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts für die "tapedi damaschini" die deutlichere Bezeichnung "Kairener Teppiche" durchsetzt. Wenn diese Annahme richtig ist, wären wir damit in der Lage, die zwischen unseren Quellen Nrr. 1 und 3 bestehende Lücke mit den zahlreichen Erwähnungen der "tapedi damaschini" zu füllen.

Nr. 5. Die Reihe der Inventarnotizen wird unterbrochen durch den bekannten und mehrfach erwähnten Befehl des Sultans Murād III. an den *Begler beg* von Ägypten aus dem Jahre 1585, der folgendermassen lautet:

Da gemeldet, dass folgende Teppichknüpfermeister (ustad kalitschedschiler) vorhanden sind: Mu'allim Abu'n-nasr, Mu'allim Muhammed Fuzûni, Hadschi Nebi, Muhammed Magribi, 'Ali Aswad, Redscheb, 'Atâullâh, 'Alî bin Mu'allim Ahmed, Asl, 'Alemuddîn, Muhammed bin Arslan, und sie notwendig an meiner erhabenen Pforte zugegen sein müssen, befehle ich, die Genannten schleunigst mit 30 Kantar bunten Fäden, wie sie zur Teppichknüpferei gehören, an meine Schwelle der Glückseligkeit zu senden und ordne an, dass Du beim Eintreffen ohne Verzögerung und Aufschub die Genannten schleunigst an meine Schwelle der Glückseligkeit sendest und auch die 30 Kantar bunte Fäden, wie sie zur Teppichknüpferei gehören, herbeischaffst und zugleich mit den Genannten sendest. Die erwähnte Angelegenheit ist wichtig. Hüte dich sorgfältig vor Nachlässigkeit und Bummel!'' (Wurde im Kaiserlichen Diwan S. Excellenz dem Wezir Ibrahim Pascha zugestellt) Am. 3. Zi'l-ka'de 993<sup>37</sup> [7. Oktober 1585].

Die Einzigartigkeit dieser Urkunde macht es schwer, sie richtig zu interpretieren. Der Vorgang ist offenbar dieser: aus Konstantinopel ist in Kairo angefragt worden, welche Teppichmeister für einen bestimmten Zweck, der in unserer Urkunde leider nicht mehr genannt wird, vorhanden, bzw. verfügbar sind. Aus Kairo werden elf geeignete Meister namentlich gemeldet<sup>38</sup>. Darauf erfolgt die Berufung dieser elf Meister an die "Schwelle der Glückseligkeit". Es wird dabei ausdrücklich verlangt, dass sie Arbeitsmaterial in Form von 30 *Ḳanṭâr*, das sind etwa 1700 Kilogramm gefärbter Wollfäden mitbringen sollen.

Die Bedeutung dieser Berufung ist erheblich überschätzt worden. Sie bezeichnet weder das Ende der ägyptischen, noch den Anfang der türkischen Hofmanufaktur<sup>39</sup>. Dass die Teppichherstellung in Ägypten noch im 17. Jahrhundert blühte, wird von Augenzeugen geschildert<sup>40</sup> und durch zahlreiche Inventarnotizen bewiesen<sup>41</sup>, und dass die Gruppe von Teppichen, die wir als Erzeugnisse der (oder einer) türkischen Hofmanufaktur anzusehen gewohnt sind, nicht erst seit 1585 entstanden, zeigt der stilistische Befund

<sup>37</sup> Aus Istanbul Hajaty, S. 187. Vergl. Jacob, *op. cit.* Dazu Sarre, "Neue Forschungen und Dokumente zur türkischen Kunstgeschichte", S. 773-77. Vergl. auch A. Refik, *La Vie à Stamboul au Xe siècle de l'hégire* (Constantinople, 1933), S. 87, Document No. 54.

<sup>38</sup> Herr Prof. Kühnel macht mich darauf aufmerksam,

dass die Namen dieser Teppichmeister, soweit sie Rückschlüsse zulassen, auf eine Manufaktur von bodenständigem Charakter hindeuten.

<sup>39</sup> Sarre, *loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Vergl. den Bericht Thévenots (unsere Nummer 20).

<sup>41</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummern 6-8, 12-15, 22-30.



des erhaltenen Materials und die frühere Erwähnung seidener Stücke<sup>42</sup>. Es dürfte sich bei dieser Berufung der elf kairener Meister nach Konstantinopel um einen besonderen Anlass gehandelt haben, sei es, dass der Sultan eine bestimmte Arbeit unter seinen Augen ausgeführt sehen wollte, sei es, dass er sich mit dem Plan trug, im Serail selber eine wohl nur für den engeren Hofbedarf arbeitende Manufaktur zu gründen<sup>43</sup>.

Trotz dieser Einschränkung bleibt die Aussage der Quelle wertvoll genug; denn sie beweist, dass um 1585 in Kairo eine grosse und wohl organisierte Teppichmanufaktur bestanden haben muss, während in Konstantinopel anscheinend nichts vorhanden war; denn sonst wäre die Anordnung, Knüpfmaterial mitzubringen, unverständlich. Diese kairener Manufaktur war offenbar so bedeutend, dass sich der Sultan dorthin wandte, obwohl es in seinem eigentlichen Stammlande Anatolien Zentren der Teppichherstellung in ausreichendem Masse gab<sup>44</sup>.

Nr. 6. Nach dieser Unterbrechung nehmen wir die Reihe der Inventareintragungen wieder auf. Aus den letzten zehn Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts sind uns noch drei solcher Notizen bekannt. Die reichhaltigste ist die im Inventar der Katharina von Medici von 1589, in dem neben acht türkischen (Nrr. 12–19) und sieben persischen Teppichen (Nrr. 49–55) nicht weniger als achtundzwanzig kairener Teppiche (Nrr. 20–47) aufgeführt werden. Die Anordnung ist offenbar nach der Wichtigkeit der Stücke getroffen. Die

<sup>42</sup> z.B. im Inventar der Erzherzogin Margaretha von 1524–31: "Coussins de morisque, ouvrage de Turquie, oppées de soye verde et rouge"; oder im Inventar der Wardrobe James V. von 1539: "Item four grete pece of tapis of Turque aff the quhilkis ane is of silk"; oder der Auftrag des Wiener Hofes an den Marx Sinckmoser im Jahre 1549 Folgendes zu besorgen: "Zehen der gueten und schönisten Türkhischen tischthebichten, so du bekommen magst, darunder aber zwen oder drei seiden sein sollen". Endlich im Inventar der Da. Juana La Loca von 1555: "... una alombra grande turquesca ... el campo de seda."

<sup>43</sup> Es muss allerdings überraschen, dass eine solche Gründung erst so spät erfolgt sein sollte. Bisher versagen die Quellen, aber es muss doch als wahrscheinlich angenommen werden, dass einmal urkundliche Belege gefunden werden.

<sup>44</sup> Nur einige der Quellen zur Teppichproduktion in Anatolien seien zusammengestellt: Die älteste Erwähnung ist die bekannte Stelle bei Marco Polo, in der er von Konya schreibt "et ibi fiunt soriani et tapeti pulchriores de mundo".

1432 schildert Bertrandon de la Broquière in seiner *Voyage d'Outremer* (Paris, 1892) die Gegend um Isnik: "... et fut le lieu où je vois premièrement faire les tappis

de Turquie."

1473 spricht Barbaro von Teppichen aus Brussa (unsere Nummer 1).

1511 erscheinen in venezianischen Inventaren "tapedi roditi".

1553 schreibt P. Belon in seinen *Observations* (Paris, 1553): "Tous les tapis qu'on apporte de Turquie sont seulement faits depuis la ville de Cogne en Cilicie, jusques à Carachara, ville de Paphlagonie" und an anderer Stelle "L'on fait des tapis à Adena..."

Um 1630 berichtet Ewliyā Čelebī, die Teppichhändler in Konstantinopel führten in ihren Läden "Teppiche aus Smyrna, Salonica, Cairo, Isfahān, Ushāk und Kavala" (vergl. unsere Nummer 17).

'Ushāk Teppiche werden im Inventar der Yeni Džāmi' von 1674 und des Serailschatzes von 1680 (unsere Nummern 21 und 24) erwähnt und kommen gelegentlich auch in abendländischen Inventaren vor. 1763 stammen die für die Lāleli Moschee bestellten Teppiche aus 'Ushāk.

Kutāhiya wird erstmalig 1610 als Zentrum der Teppichherstellung genannt. 1644 finden wir im Inventar des Hôtel de Soissons "tapis de Turquie Servien" im 18. Jahrh. kommen Teppiche der Insel Chios vor. Ob es sich in allen Fällen um Knüpfteppiche handelt, bedürfte einer näheren Untersuchung.

Eintragungen beginnen mit den meist kleinen türkischen Teppichen, nennen dann die kairener, um mit den persischen zu enden, unter denen Nr. 54 ein seidenes Stück mit Goldgrund ist. Leider sind uns nur drei Eintragungen im Wortlaut zugänglich:

20. Ung tapis querin de deux aulnes moins ung XII<sup>e</sup> de large, sur trois aulnes ung XII<sup>e</sup> de long.

21. Ung autre tapis querin de deux aulnes moings ung XII<sup>e</sup> de large, sur trois aulnes deux tiers de long.<sup>45</sup>

23. Ung aultre tapis querin de une aulne quart et demy de large sur deux aulnes un quart de long.<sup>46</sup>

Die Masse ergeben umgerechnet<sup>47</sup> etwa 225 zu 365 cm, bzw. 225 zu 430 cm, bzw. 160 zu 265 cm. Es handelt sich also um Stücke von verhältnismässig kleinem Format. Da weitere Angaben fehlen, liegt die besondere Bedeutung dieser Quelle in der überraschend grossen Zahl von Teppichen dieser Gattung und in ihrer Einordnung, aus der wohl hervorgeht, dass sie höher geschätzt wurden als die "tapis de Turquie" und nur hinter den "tapis persiens" zurückstanden.

Nr. 7. Im Inventar des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Österreich vom Jahre 1596 finden sich neben zahlreichen türkischen Teppichen:

Fünf gleiche Alkheirische teppich von roth, plau und gelb farb auch gelb seiden fransen . . .<sup>48</sup>. Zwen schöne Alkheyrische teppich, so der obrist von Genua heergeben, mit allerlei farben und gelb harressen fransen, auf rundtafflen gehörig . . .<sup>49</sup>.

Riegl hat in ihnen algerische Teppiche sehen wollen<sup>50</sup>, was unmöglich ist. Alkheirisch kann nur kairenisch bedeuten. Wichtig ist die Angabe der Farben bei diesen Stücken. Ob die Verwendung auf "rundtafflen" runde Form des Teppichs voraussetzt, scheint nicht sicher, da es aber so ausdrücklich betont wird, ist doch mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass hier kreisförmige Teppiche gemeint sind . . .<sup>51</sup>. Hinzuweisen wäre auch auf die Gleichheit der ersten fünf Teppiche.

<sup>45</sup> E. Bonnaffé, *Inventaire des Meubles de Catherine de Médicis en 1589* (Paris, 1874), S. 60. Bonnaffé führt nur Nrr. 22, 23 an und schreibt dann: "Suit la nomenclature de 26 autres tapis querins de dimensions diverses, sans autre détail."

<sup>46</sup> Nach Gay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> Unter Zugrundelegung der aulne de Paris mit rund 1, 18 m. Im Inventaire du Château de Pailly von 1611 werden die Masse mit der Angabe "aulne de Paris" gegeben.

<sup>48</sup> "Inventari weilend der fürstlich durchlaucht erzherzog Ferdinanden zu Österreich. . ." Innsbruck, 1596,

Mai 30: Schloss Ahental fol. 285 v. nach "Urkunden und Regesten aus der K. K. Hofbibliothek", *Jahrb. d. Kunstslg. d. Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VII (1888), S. CCLXIV.

<sup>49</sup> Das. fol. 288 v., *ibid.*, S. CCLXIV.

<sup>50</sup> A. Riegl, "Ältere orientalische Teppiche aus dem Besitz des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses", *Jahrb. d. Kunstslg. d. Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIII (1892), S. 326–27.

<sup>51</sup> Ebenso wird man sich bei den früheren italienischen Inventaren fragen müssen, ob mit "tapedi da desco" nicht Teppiche für runde Tische gemeint sind im Unterschied zu rechteckigen "tapedi da tavola."



Nr. 8. Nur drei Jahre später, 1599, werden im Inventar der Gabrielle d'Estrées neben drei persischen und zehn türkischen Teppichen auch fünf "Tapis quérins" aufgeführt. Leider bringt Havard, dessen *Dictionnaire d'ameublement* wir diese Notiz entnehmen<sup>52</sup>, nur eine dieser Eintragungen in extenso. Sie lautet:

Un grand tapiz querein de cinq aulnes de tiers de long e de trois aulnes de large.

Havard bemerkt dazu:

Ces tapis sont cotés 50, 60 et jusqu'à 80 écus, ce qui est un prix élevé pour l'époque.

Die angegebenen Masse ergeben umgerechnet eine Grösse von 630 zu 355 cm, also einen Teppich von erheblichen Ausmassen.

Nr. 9. Gegen das Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts scheint der Terminus "Cairin"<sup>53</sup> in die französische Umgangssprache als feststehender Begriff eingegangen zu sein. Seine literarische Dokumentierung hat er in der Satire *L'Isle des hermaphrodites* gefunden, wo "cairns" an verschiedenen Stellen erwähnt werden, wie z.B.

On estredra sous les dicts licts quelques riches cairins ou autres tentures de soye ...  
... on estendit un grand cairin trainant jusques à terre ...<sup>54</sup>

Gewiss liegt der Verdacht nahe, dass diese Fixierung verbunden ist mit einer Begriffserweiterung, die es fraglich erscheinen lassen muss, ob mit diesen "cairins" noch Knüpft Teppiche gemeint sind<sup>55</sup>, und ob diese Teppiche mit den in Kairo gefertigten identisch sind. Zufällig haben wir aus nahezu gleicher Zeit eine höchst nüchterne Definition des Wortes, die uns von allen Zweifeln befreit.

Nr. 10. Randle Cotgrave schreibt in seinem 1611 in London erschienenen *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, dem er den Untertitel, "Brief Directions for Such as Desire to Learne the French Tongue" gibt, zu dem Wort

Cairin: A turkie carpet, such a one is brought from Cairo in Aegypt.

An dieser Definition ist nicht zu deuten. Der Terminus "cairin" bezeichnete kairener Knüpft Teppiche und war damals so geläufig, dass er sogar in ein französisch-englisches Wörterbuch aufgenommen wurde.

Nr. 11. Nach diesen Quellen erscheint nun auch eine lange bekannte Urkunde in ganz neuem Licht, ja wird überhaupt erst verständlich, nämlich das Kommissionsurteil über Jehan Fortiers Vorschläge zur Regeneration der Teppich-Manufaktur in Paris vom 23. Juli 1604, in dem es heisst:

<sup>52</sup> Unter: "cairin."

<sup>53</sup> Auch "querin," "guerin," "querrin," "kerrein" geschrieben.

<sup>54</sup> Havard, *op. cit.*, "cairin."

<sup>55</sup> Etwa in der Art des "... grand tapiz à haute lisse, que le roy a donné à Gabrielle d'Estrées, qui est d'or, d'argent et de soye à la mode égyptienne" (Arch. Nat. K. K., 157, fol. 41).

Sur la proposition faite par Jehan Fortier aux commissaires députez par le roy sur le fait du commerce pour establir en ceste ville de Paris et aultres de ce royaume la manufacture des Tapis de Turquie querins, persiens et aultres de nouvelle invention embelliz de diverses figures d'animaux et de personnages jusques icij incognues. . .

es folgt die Angabe, dass man besagten Jehan Fortier angehalten habe, Proben zu liefern, die offenbar zur Zufriedenheit ausgefallen sind, denn die Kommission argumentiert:

Ayant esgard à l'utilité que la France pourra recevoir de cette industrie tant en l'espargne des deniers qui se transportent aux païs étrangers pour l'achapt des tapis de ces sortes et espèces que pour l'occupation du peuple qui pourra y estre employé. . .

Auf Grund dieser Überlegungen kommt die Kommission zu dem Ergebnis, das Gesuch des besagten Jehan Fortier sei zu befürworten:

. . . admettre et retenir ledict Fortier pour establir en ceste ville de Paris ladicte manufacture des Tapis de Turquie querins et persiens, ensemble des autres de nouvelle invention et jusques à present incogne aux peuples et ouvriers du Levant <sup>56</sup>.

Dieses Gutachten ergibt einige interessante Gesichtspunkte:

1. Um 1600 war der Import orientalischer Teppiche nach Frankreich so umfangreich, dass sich die vom König eingesetzte Prüfungskommission eine, um mit neuzeitlichen Begriffen zu reden, merkliche Entlastung der "Devisenlage" und eine positive Rückwirkung auf den französischen "Arbeitsmarkt" versprach, wenn es mit Hilfe der von Jehan Fortier gemachten Vorschläge gelänge, auf dem Gebiet der Teppichproduktion die "Autarkie" zu erreichen. Ob man darüber hinaus mit dem Gedanken spielte, durch die "tapis de nouvelle invention et jusques à présent incogne aux peuples et ouvriers du Levant" eine Exportmöglichkeit zu gewinnen, mag dahingestellt bleiben.

2. Unter den Teppichen, die aus dem Orient in Frankreich importiert wurden, standen zwei Gruppen an erster Stelle: die "tapis de Turquie querins" und die "tapis de Turquie persiens", d.h. übersetzt offenbar "Orientteppiche aus Kairo" und "Orientteppiche aus Persien" <sup>57</sup>. Nachahmungen dieser vornehmsten Gattungen, die es auszustechen galt, hatte Fortier neben seinen eigenen Erfindungen als Muster vorgelegt.

Man hat mit dieser seit 1892 bekannten Urkunde bisher nichts anfangen können. Nach den im Vorgehenden veröffentlichten Quellen hat sie nichts Überraschendes mehr.

<sup>56</sup> Vergl. E. Gerspach, "Die alte Teppichfabrication in Paris", *Teppicherzeugung im Orient* (Wien, 1895), S. 122–23. Übrigens haben die Engländer bereits 1579 einen Färber namens Morgan Hubblethorne nach Persien geschickt. In den "Certain directions . . ." die ihm mitgegeben werden, heisst es: "In Persia you shall finde carpets of coarse thrummed wool, the best of the world, and excellently coloured . . . and you must use means to learn all the order of the dyeing of those thrums, which are so dyed as neither rain, wine, nor yet vinegar can

stain. . . If before you return, you could procure a singular good workman in the art of Turkish carpet-making, you should bring the art into this realm and also thereby increase work to your Company" (Kendrick, *op. cit.*, S. 140).

<sup>57</sup> Zahlreiche Quellen legen es nahe, dass "tapis de Turquie" vielfach nur "Orientteppich" heisst. Vergl. z.B. Anm. 56, wo in Persien ein guter "workman in the art of Turkish carpet-making" angeworben werden soll.



Kairener Teppiche waren neben persischen die beliebtesten und hervorragendsten Gattungen des Orientteppichs im damaligen Frankreich. Sie musste Fortier durch seine Muster überzeugend nachahmen, um den Titel "tapissier ordinaire de Sa Majesté en tapiz de Turquie et façon du Levant" und die Arbeitskonzession zu erhalten<sup>58</sup>.

Nr. 12. Im Nachlass Charles de Bourbon vom Jahre 1613 heisst es<sup>59</sup>:

Ensuivent les tapis de Guérin et Turquie trouvés audit galletas.

- a) Premièrement ung grand tapis de Guérin de trois aulnes et demie de large sur six aulnes trois cartz de long, prisé 200 livres.
- b) Item ung aultre tapis de Guérin, aussy fin, de trois aulnes de large sur cinq aulnes trois quartz et demy de long, 160 l.
- c) Ung aultre tapis Guérin, contenant deux aulnes de large sur quatres et demy de long, ayant une grande roye au milieu, 90 l.
- d) Ung tapis Guérin à long poil de deux pieces, tel quel, contenant trois aulnes de large sur trois aulnes deux tiers de long, 18 l.
- e) Item ung aultre petit tapis Guérin, aussy à long poil, d'une aulne de large sur une aulne trois quarts de long, 6 l.
- f) Item ung aultre petit tapis Guérin couppé par les coings servant pour une petite table de deux aulnes de long sur deux aulnes de large, 36 l.

Die ungewöhnlich eingehenden Angaben dieses Inventars geben interessante Anhaltspunkte für den Charakter der "tapis cairins". Die genannten Masse sind umgerechnet<sup>60</sup> und abgerundet: (a) 410 zu 790 cm, (b) 350 zu 690 cm, (c) 240 zu 530 cm, (d) 350 zu 430 cm, (e) 120 zu 200 cm, und (f) 230 zu 230 cm. Die Teppiche dieser Gattung sind also in der Grösse stark unterschieden. Neben Stücken von nahezu 8 m Länge stehen solche von nur 2 m. Ebenso mannigfach sind auch ihre Proportionen. Auf der einen Seite stehen Stücke von schmalem Format, die das Verhältnis von 1 zu 2 für Breite zu Länge beinahe erreichen, ja in einem Fall überschreiten, auf der anderen Seite kommen sogar rein quadratische Teppiche vor. Entsprechend differieren die angegebenen Werte zwischen 200 und 6 Livres. Ausserdem wird unterschieden zwischen "feinen" Teppichen und solchen "mit langem Fell". Eines der Stücke ist an den Ecken beschnitten, vermutlich um es einem runden Tisch anzupassen. In einem Fall wird sogar das Muster beschrieben. Es besteht aus einem Rad ("roye") in der Mitte.

Nr. 13. Von gleicher Art sind die Eintragungen im Inventar der Witwe Phéliepeaux vom Jahre 1633<sup>61</sup>:

<sup>58</sup> Fortier verwendet die erhaltene Ermächtigung nicht. Statt seiner gründete Pierre Dupont eine Fabrik, aus der sich dann die Savonnerie entwickelte. Vergl. "La Stroma-tourgie ou de l'excellence de la Manufacture des tapis dits de Turquie de Pierre Dupont" (Paris, 1632). Neue Ausgabe von A. Darcel und J. Guiffrey (Paris, 1882).

<sup>59</sup> Nach Gay, *loc. cit.* Im gleichen Inventar "... ung

tapis persien fort fin, d'une aulne trois quartz et demy de large sur trois aulnes et demy de long, prisé 120 l."

<sup>60</sup> Das Vorkommen eines Teppichs, der nur eine Elle misst, zeigt, dass wir auch hier die Elle von Paris zugrunde legen müssen.

<sup>61</sup> Gay, *loc. cit.*

Item ung tappis de Querrin de deux aulnes et demy de long sur sept quartiers de large ou environ prisé 25 liv.

Item ung aultre tappis de Querrin d'une aulne deux tiers de long sur ung aulne de large ou environ, prisé 12 l.

Die Masse ergeben umgerechnet etwa 290 zu 200 cm, bzw. 190 zu 120 cm. Es sind also nur kleinere Stücke, was auch in der Wertangabe zum Ausdruck kommt. Im gleichen Inventar wird ein persischer Teppich von 130 zu 200 cm mit 30 l. bewertet.

Nr. 14. 1644 wird im Inventaire de l'Hôtel de Soissons angeführt:

Ung grand tapis Querin de pied, contenant cinq aulnes trois quarts de long sur deux aulnes trois quarts de large, prisé 250 l.<sup>62</sup>

Es handelt sich also um ein grosses, auffallend langes Stück (675 zu 320 cm), dessen Wert sehr hoch angesetzt wird.

Nr. 15. Endlich finden wir im Inventar des Maréchal de la Meilleraye vom 23.II.1664<sup>63</sup> neben persischen und türkischen Teppichen:

Un vieil tapis kerrein, de trois aulnes de long sur cinq quarts de large, XXIII livres.

Das Stück ist wesentlich kleiner als das vorhergenannte (350 zu 150 cm), aber ebenfalls von schmaler Proportion.

Nr. 16. Aber nicht nur im Abendland erfreuten sich die kairener Teppiche einer ausserordentlichen Beliebtheit. Auch im Morgenland werden sie neben persischen Teppichen an erster Stelle genannt. Ewliyā Čelebī beschreibt im ersten Band seiner *Narrative of Travels* die Yeni Wälide Djāmi' in Konstantinopel:

...and the Persian and Egyptian carpets, with which the floor is covered, give the mosque the appearance of a Chinese picture-gallery.<sup>64</sup>

Man muss nach dieser Angabe den Eindruck gewinnen, dass ägyptische Teppiche zum Besten gehörten, was damals produziert wurde, so dass sie sogar in Konstantinopel neben den persischen zur Ausschmückung der Moscheen verwendet wurden. Den Vergleich mit dem Bilderhaus Chinas bringt Ewliyā auch bei der Beschreibung des Sultanspalastes, wo er sagt: "... the floor is paved with stone of various colours, like a Chinese gallery of pictures." Unwillkürlich denkt man an die Verse auf einem persischen Teppich im Musée des Gobelins in Paris, von dem gesagt wird "... er ist ein Gegenstand des Neides für das

<sup>62</sup> Gay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> Havard, *loc. cit.* Im gleichen Inventar "Un tapis persien de deux aulnes et demy—tiers de large, sur cinq aulnes et un quart de long, prisé de 330 livres."

<sup>64</sup> *Narrative of Travels* (London, 1846), I, Sect. 1,

S. 165. 1672 schildert Antoine Galland in seinem Tagebuch, ed. Schefer (Paris, 1881), Bd. I, S. 79, die Wälide Moschee als "tapissé de ... tapis ... d'excellément beaux et d'un prix qui n'est pas médiocre."



Bilderhaus Chinas ob seiner Schönheit<sup>65</sup>“, oder an das Gedicht in der Borte des Baumteppichs im Museo Poldi Pezzoli zu Mailand, in dem es heisst: “Dem Kunstblick ein Blatt der sinensischen Malkunst ist er”<sup>66</sup>. Chinesische Malereien waren im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert offenbar nicht nur in Persien, sondern auch in der Türkei Inbegriff des Köstlichen<sup>67</sup>, wobei man vielleicht in der “picture-gallery” Lackarbeiten vermuten kann, die durch ihre Farbigkeit und ihren Figurenreichtum einen so tiefen Eindruck hinterliessen<sup>68</sup>.

Ewliyā will zweifellos mit seinem Vergleich eine Vorstellung geben von dem ausserordentlichen Reichtum dieser Bodendekoration in der Yeni Wälide Djāmi‘. Für unser Thema ist es dabei von höchstem Interesse, dass dabei neben persischen gerade ägyptische Teppiche verwendet wurden. Gewiss kann man seiner Angabe keinen archäologischen Wert beimessen. Es mögen auch Teppiche anderer Gattungen in der Moschee gelegen haben. Entscheidend bleibt, dass der Berichterstatter, um den glanzvollen Eindruck zu schildern, zwei Teppichgattungen nennt, die damals offenbar führend waren, und dass die eine dieser beiden Gattungen die der kairener Teppiche ist.

Nr. 17. Derselbe Verfasser gibt an anderer Stelle seines Werks eine genaue Aufstellung:

Of all the Guilds and Professions existing in the Jurisdiction of the Four Mollahs of Constantinople, with the Number of their Shops, their Men, their Sheikhs and Pirs.<sup>69</sup>

In dieser Liste nennt er nicht weniger als 735 verschiedene Berufe, darunter so abgelegene Beschäftigungen wie die Papierschneider, die Hersteller künstlicher Palmbäume oder die Verfertiger von Wachsvögeln. Eine Kategorie von Handwerken, die man an führender Stelle erwarten sollte, findet sich nicht: die Teppichknüpfer. Es wäre selbstverständlich leichtfertig daraus zu schliessen, dass zu seiner Zeit in Konstantinopel keine Teppiche gefertigt wurden. Die Teppichknüpfer brauchten ja nur der Rechtsprechung der vier Mollās nicht zu unterstehen, um in seiner Liste zu fehlen, sei es, dass sie in der Nachbarschaft der Hauptstadt arbeiteten und so nicht zu den Zünften gehörten, sei es, was wahrscheinlicher ist, dass sie nur für den Hof arbeiteten, unmittelbar der Hofverwaltung unterstanden und damit dieser Aufzählung entgingen<sup>70</sup>. Eine städtische Teppichknüpferzunft existierte jedenfalls nicht. Dagegen nennt er als Nr. 486 seiner Liste die Teppichhändler:

<sup>65</sup> Vergl. A. Riegl, *Orientalische Teppiche* (Wien, 1892), Taf. LXXIV, Nr. 95.

<sup>66</sup> Vergl. F. Sarre und H. Trenkwald, *Orientalische Teppiche*, II, Taf. 29–30.

<sup>67</sup> Nach Ewliyā (*op. cit.*, I, Sect. 1, S. 179) hiess das Bad der Maler “Chinli”, d.h. der Chinesen.

<sup>68</sup> Hinweis von Herrn Dr. Meister, Hamburg.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 2 Sect. LXXX.

<sup>70</sup> A. Sakisian gibt an “L’Inventaire des tapis de la mosquée Yeni-Djami de Stamboul,” *Syria*, XII (1931),

S. 369, Anm. 5, dass es sich um einen Vorbeimarsch der Korporationen vor Murād IV. im Jahre 1633 handelt. In diesem Aufmarsch, an Hand dessen Ewliyā seine Liste aufstellte, kommen viele Berufe vor, die zum Hof in engster Beziehung standen. Auf der anderen Seite nennt er aber (*op. cit.*, Sect. LXXIX) in der “Description of Constantinople Made in the Year 1048 (1638) by Order of Sultan Murad IV, Containing the Summary of Buildings of Every Kind” ein Haus für die Teppichmacher.

The Carpet-merchants (Káliejejián) are one hundred and eleven men with forty shops. They adorn their shops with carpets from Smyrna, Salonica, Cairo, Isfahán, Ushák, and Kavala.<sup>71</sup>

Der Teppichhandel blühte also damals in Konstantinopel, aber er arbeitete restlos mit importierter Ware. Als Herkunftsorte werden, sicher nur für die hauptsächlichsten und beliebtesten Gattungen, zwei Gebiete des anatolischen Hinterlandes genannt: Smyrna und 'Ushāk, ferner überraschenderweise zwei Gebiete der europäischen Türkei: Saloniki und Ḵawāla, endlich zwei fernere Gebiete: Kairo und neben ihm Işfahān, das hier wohl mehr als Exportzentrum für persische Teppiche überhaupt zu verstehen ist. Neben im weiteren Sinne einheimischer Ware beherrschten also im 17. Jahrhundert persische und kairener Teppiche den Markt, eine Feststellung, die gut zu der Verwendung gerade dieser beiden Gruppen in der Yeni Wālide *Djāmi'* passt.

Nr. 18. Ewliyā Čelebī erwähnt Gebetsteppiche aus Ägypten im Zusammenhange mit Teppichen aus anderen Teppichländern noch an zwei anderen Stellen seines Werkes (im vierten Bande seiner *Reisebeschreibung*). Das eine Mal schildert er die Objekte des Schatzes von 'Abdal *Khān*, die nach der Einnahme von Bitlis durch Melek Aḥmad Paşa, den osmanischen Wālī von Wān, im Jahre 1655 öffentlich versteigert wurden. Nach der Darstellung von Arménag Sakisian enthielt dieser Schatz des kurdischen Begs:

Deux cents tapis de soie persans, soixante-dix tapis à figures d'Ispahan de quarante coudées de largeur, cent cinquante tapisseries franques, des bandes légères de tapisserie arabes, des tapisseries à long poils de Baïbourt, des tapis d'Oushak et des tapis de prière d'Égypte.<sup>72</sup>

Nr. 19. Der türkische Reisende schildert an anderer Stelle die intellektuellen, künstlerischen und handwerklichen Fähigkeiten des gleichen 'Abdal *Khān*, Beg von Bitlis. Sakisian gibt die in Betracht kommende Stelle in folgender Weise wieder:

...tisseur très habile, il avait donné à Mélek Ahmed pacha un tapis de prière, œuvre de ses propres mains et dont on aurait à peine trouvé l'équivalent en Égypte ou à Ispahan.<sup>73</sup>

Nr. 20. Aber die Quellen liegen noch günstiger. Aus der gleichen Zeit, für die uns Ewliyā so aufschlussreiche Angaben über den Teppichmarkt in Konstantinopel macht, besitzen wir einen eingehenden Bericht über die ägyptische Teppichmanufaktur selber aus der Feder des französischen Reisenden Thévenot, der Kairo im Jahre 1663 besuchte:

Il me semble que c'est encor une chose assez curieuse de voir travailler les tapis, car il se fait au Caire de fort beaux tapis, et en quantité, qu'en envoie à Constantinople et en Chrestienté, et on les appelle tapis de Turquie: il y a quantité de gens qui y travaillent parmy lesquels sont plusieurs petits garçons, mais qui font tous leur ouvrage avec tant d'adresse et de vitesse, qu'il ne

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, S. 223.

<sup>72</sup> A. Sakisian, "Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et ses trésors," *Journ. Asiatique*, CCXXIX

(1937), pp. 266–67.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.



se peut pas croire; ils ont devant eux leur mestier, et tiennent de la main gauche plusieurs bouts de pelotons de laines de diverses couleurs, qu'ils appliquent chacune en leur lieu; de leur main droite ils tiennent un cousteau, avec quoy ils coupent la laine à chaque point qu'ils y touchent avec le cousteau. Le maître à eux de temps avec un patron, sur lequel regardant, il leur dicte comme s'il lisoit dans un livre, et plus viste encor qu'il ne se peut lire, disant, il faut tant de points d'une telle couleur, et tant d'une telle autre, et autres choses semblables, et eux ne sont pas moins prompts à travailler que luy à dicter.<sup>74</sup>

Am Rande dieses Abschnitts steht die Inhaltsangabe: "Tapis de Turquie se font au Caire."

Durch die geringe Zahl der bekannten Quellen ist diese interessante Notiz bei ihrem Auftauchen zunächst falsch interpretiert worden<sup>75</sup>. Man glaubte, aus der Inhaltsangabe am Rande des Abschnitts schliessen zu müssen, Thévenot sei überrascht gewesen, in Kairo den Herstellungsort der Teppiche zu finden, die man im Abendland als "tapis de Turquie" bezeichnete, und bemühe sich nun, diesen Irrtum richtig zu stellen. Das ist nach den zahlreichen gerade französischen Inventarnotizen, in denen von kairener Teppichen die Rede ist<sup>76</sup> und nach dem Vorhandensein eines festen Terminus "cairin"<sup>77</sup> durchaus unwahrscheinlich. Seine lebhafteste Anteilnahme entspringt wohl eher der Freude, hier einmal die Herstellung der ihm aus seiner Heimat bekannten Orientteppiche an Ort und Stelle beobachten zu können, und er setzt offenbar bei seinen Lesern ein gleiches Interesse voraus. Aus diesem Grunde gibt er eine so eingehende Schilderung des Herstellungsvorganges, bei dem ihm die Verwendung von Knaben, die ausserordentliche Geschicklichkeit und Geschwindigkeit der Arbeit und das eigentümliche Diktat des leitenden Meisters besonders auffallen. Die Randnotiz, die vor allem zu der falschen Interpretation veranlasste, enthält sicher keinen Unterton des Staunens, sondern ist die in dieser Zeit übliche kurze Inhaltsangabe des betreffenden Abschnitts, die man etwa übersetzen könnte: "Über die Herstellung von Orientteppichen in Kairo".

Abgesehen von der interessanten Schilderung des Arbeitsvorganges enthält diese Notiz eine Reihe von Angaben, die die Aussagen der bisher besprochenen Quellen auf das Wertvollste unterstützen. Noch um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts blühte in Kairo eine Teppichmanufaktur von erheblichem Umfang, in der viele Arbeiter beschäftigt wurden<sup>78</sup>. Sie produzierte grosse Mengen von schönen Teppichen, die sowohl nach dem Abendland wie nach Konstantinopel ausgeführt werden. Ja auch die von uns bereits vermutete Tatsache, dass man den Terminus "tapis der Turquie" in vielen Fällen nur mit "Orientteppich" übersetzen darf<sup>79</sup>, findet ihre Bestätigung.

<sup>74</sup> J. de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant par Monsieur de Thévenot* (Paris, 1665). Seconde Partie, Chap. X, "Des Palais, rues et bazars du Caire," S. 272.

<sup>75</sup> Sarre, "Die ägyptischen Teppiche", S. 21.

<sup>76</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummern 3, 6, 8, 12-15.

<sup>77</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 9.

<sup>78</sup> Seine Schilderung passt gut zu dem Bild, das wir uns nach der Urkunde von 1585 (unsere Nummer 5) von der kairener Manufaktur machen können.

<sup>79</sup> Vergl. Anm. 57. Man wird also damit rechnen müssen, dass sich noch unter manchen der "tapis de Turquie" in den Inventaren kairener Teppiche verbergen.

Nr. 21. In der Reihe dieser Quellen, deren Angaben sich in erfreulichster Weise gegenseitig bestätigen und ergänzen, verliert nun auch das verschiedentlich zitierte Inventar der Yeni Wālide Djāmi in Konstantinopel vom Jahre 1674 das zunächst Überraschende<sup>80</sup>. Leider ist es bisher nicht im Wortlaut veröffentlicht worden, so dass wir auf die Inhaltsangabe angewiesen sind, die Sakisian gegeben hat. Neben sehr kostbaren persischen Teppichen, die zum Teil eingehend beschrieben werden, finden sich eine ganze Anzahl von Gebetsteppichen, die als "tapis d'Egypte" bezeichnet werden. Nach Sakisian handelt es sich um:

...de grands tapis de prière pour mosque, qui multiplient des set-djadés (*sadjjādas*) de manière que la place de chaque fidèle es marquée. Le plus grand d'entre eux, qui mesurait 35 coudées sur 7 coudées 16 pouces, ne comptait pas moins de 132 mihrab, et la plus petite, de 4 coudées 8 pouces sur 4, avait 10 mihrab seulement. Dans cette série, qui comprend aussi deux Ouchak, ne figure aucun tapis persan.

Es handelt sich um dieselbe Moschee, deren Teppichreichtum Ewliyā etwa vierzig Jahre früher mit einem chinesischen Bilderhaus verglich (Unsere Nr. 16). Es ist verlockend, nach den genaueren Angaben dieses Inventars die allgemeineren Ewliyās zu ergänzen.

Nr. 22. Nach dieser Abschweifung in den Orient selber kehren wir zu abendländischen Quellen zurück. Aus dem Jahre 1677 stammt das Nachlassinventar des D. Fernando de Valenzuela, in dem es heisst:

Cita, además, tres alfombras de Mesina, tres turcas y una del Cairo.<sup>81</sup>

Nr. 23. Im gleichen Jahre wird im Inventar des Palazzo Cavalli a san Vitale in Venedig erwähnt:

Un tapedo quadro gagiarin da tola(?), et un altro tapedo stretto.<sup>82</sup>

Nr. 24. Ähnlich wie die Eintragungen im Inventar der Yeni Wālide Djāmi (Nr. 21) lauten auch die Angaben im Inventar des Serailschatzes in Konstantinopel von 1680, auf die mich Herr Direktor Tahsin Öz liebenswürdigerweise aufmerksam machte. Neben eingehend beschriebenen persischen Teppichen und solchen aus 'Uṣhāḳ werden aufgeführt:

20 seidene Gebetsteppiche aus Ägypten und zwei grosse-Teppiche aus Ägypten.

Nr. 25. Nur wenige Jahre später, 1688, finden die Angaben Thévenots ihre nüchterne Bestäti-

<sup>80</sup> Vergl. A. Sakisian, "Mitteilungen des ungarischen wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel", *Turan*, (1918), S. 240; Sarre, "Die ägyptische Herkunft der sogenannten Damaskus-Teppiche", S. 82; Sakisian, "L'Inventaire des tapis de la Mosquée Yeni-Djami de Stamboul," S. 371.

<sup>81</sup> Arch. del Palacio Real de Madrid. Don Carlos II. L. 60—*Colección de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, XXVII, S. 229; Zitiert nach J. Ferrandis Torres, *Exposición de alfombras antiguas españolas* (Madrid, 1933), S. 72.

<sup>82</sup> Nach Molmenti, *op. cit.*, III, S. 514.



gung in einem volkswirtschaftlichen Werk, dem *Tableau du commerce de Marseille* von Carfeuil, in dem es heisst:

Tapis cairins viennent à Marseille du Caire; la consommation s'en fait en France, leur prix varie de 10 à 150 escus la pièce.

Der Import kairener Teppiche blüht also trotz der Versuche Jehan Fortiers und Pierre Duponts<sup>83</sup> noch immer. Auch die verhältnismässig grosse Preisspanne, die bei den Inventareintragungen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts auffiel, besteht noch zwischen den einzelnen Stücken.

Nr. 26. Mit dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts scheinen die Inventarnotizen seltener zu werden. Von 1698 datiert der Vermerk im Inventar des Abbé d'Effiat:

Un tapis de Turquie cairin de deux aulnes de large sur quatre aulnes ou environ de long [also etwa 230 zu 470 cm]<sup>84</sup>.

Nr. 27. Für das 18. Jahrhundert sind wir bisher noch allein auf spanische Inventare angewiesen. In der 1701 datierten Testamentaría de Carlos II. werden im "Oficio de la tapicería" neben Teppichen aus portugiesisch Indien und zahlreichen nicht näher benannten Stücken erwähnt:

- a) No. 107. Ittem ottra Alfombra del Cairo el Campo Carmesí Y la Zenefa ancha Con Unos florones grandes que tiene doze Varas y media de largo y siette Y tercia de ancho Con fluecos dorados de lana de la misma Urdiembre que es del numero ocho tasada en quatrocientos dobls.
- b) No. 110. Ittem ottra Alfombra de el Cairo Con un floron en medio ochauada con requibes azul Celestte y el Campo Carmesi que estta corttada Y ttiene quatro Varas Y quartta de largo y ttres de ancho Con fluecos pajizos que es del numero doze tasadas en ocho doblones.<sup>85</sup>

Ferner im "Cuarto del la Reina" neben Teppichen aus Mecina, Alcaraz, portugiesisch Indien, Persien, und der Türkei:

- c) Item otra alfombra maltratada del Cairo de tres varas y media de largo y dos y media de ancho tasada en treinta reales.
- d) Item otra alfombra del Cairo dezisiete varas de largo y tres y tres quartas de ancho muy maltratada tasada en dosçientos y quarenta reales.
- e) Item una alfombra del Cairo de diez varas y media de largo y cinco de ancho tasada en tresçientos reales.<sup>86</sup>

Endlich im "Sitio Real de Buen Retiro" neben indischen, chinesischen, türkischen und spanischen Teppichen:

- f) No. 18. Ittem Una Alfombra de el Cairo de quatro Varas de largo y tres de ancho tasada en quatrocientos y Veinte Rls.

<sup>83</sup> Vergl. unsere Nummer 11 und Anm. 58.

<sup>84</sup> Nach Havard, *loc. cit.*

<sup>85</sup> Arch. general de Palacio —<sup>I</sup>—, zitiert nach Torres, *op. cit.*, S. 74.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 76.

g) No. 19. Ottra Alfombra de el Cairo de ôcho Varas de largo y quattro de âncho tasada en mill Ciento y Veintte Reales.

h-l) No. 20. Quattro Alfombras de el Cairo al Una de Seis Varas y tercia de largo y tres y tercia de âncho: ôtttra de Seis y tercia de largo y quattro de âncho: ôtttra de Siette y quartta de largo y quattro de âncho y la ôtttra de quattro Varas de largo y tres quarttas de âncho tasadas todas en dos mill quinienttos y Cinquentta Reales.

m) No. 21. Ottra Alfombra del Cairo de quattro Varas de largo y tres de âncho tasada en ttres-cienttos y Sesentta Reales.

n) No. 22. Ottra Alfombra del Cairo de el mismo tamaño que la antezedente malttrattada tasada en Ciento y Ochenta Reales.

o) No. 23. Ottra Alfombra de el Cairo que tiene diez Varas de largo y Seis de âncho tassada en dos mill y Ciento Reales.

p) No. 24. Ottra Alfombra de el Cairo de doce Varas de largo y Seis y media de âncho tasada en tres mill Siettecientos y quarentta y quattro Rs.<sup>87</sup>

Nr. 28. 1747 wird in den Inventaren Philipps V. unter Nr. 17 der 1701 unter Nr. 107 (unsere Nr. 27a) genannte Teppich noch einmal aufgeführt<sup>88</sup>.

Nr. 29. 1751 kommt er im Inventar Ferdinands VI. ebenfalls vor<sup>89</sup>. Ausser ihm wird nur noch ein weiterer Teppich dieser Gattung genannt:

Otro tapete del Cayro cortado por medio el campo carmesi floreado de pajizo, y azul de tres varas y media de largo y vara y media de ancho incapaz de servir.<sup>90</sup>

Es ist möglich, dass dieser nicht mehr verwendbare, stark beschädigte Teppich identisch ist mit dem 1701 unter Nr. 110 (unsere Nr. 27b) im "Oficio de la tapicería" genannten Stück, das schon damals fragmentarisch war. Inzwischen müssten, um den Unterschied der Masse zu erklären, weitere Stücke verloren gegangen sein.

Nr. 30. In dem ausserordentlich reichen Inventar Karls III. vom Jahre 1789<sup>91</sup> findet sich nur noch ein einziger Teppich dieser Gattung erwähnt:

Otro dicha fabricada en el Cairo mui bien tratada, su largo once varas, por siete de ancho, en quadro setenta y siete varas que a razón de setenta reales importan... 4 D. 620.

Diese Inventareintragen zeigen, dass auch im 18. Jahrhundert in den reichen Beständen des spanischen Königshauses kairener Teppiche noch eine bedeutende Rolle spielen. Über ihr Aussehen wird, wie gewöhnlich, nur wenig gesagt. In einem Fall (a) wird die Farbe des Feldes ("campo") und der Borte ("cenefa") mit karmesinrot angegeben, wobei die Gleichheit der Farbe in Feld und Borte bemerkenswert ist. In einem andern (b) ist das Feld karmesinrot, die Borte ("requibes") hellblau. Das Muster wird eben-

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 77-78.

<sup>88</sup> Arch. general de Palacio  $\frac{1}{G 118}$ , *ibid.*, S. 80.

<sup>89</sup> Arch. general de Palacio. Fernando VI. Legajo 19;

*ibid.*, S. 83.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 84.

<sup>91</sup> Arch. general de Palacio  $\frac{1}{G 125}$ ; *ibid.*, S. 92.



falls bei einigen Stücken kurz beschrieben. Einmal (*a*) zeigt es "unos florones grandes", ein andermal (*b*) "un floron en medio", womit wohl Medaillonformen gemeint sind. Bei einem dritten Teppich (29) ist das rote Feld mit gelben Blüten bedeckt ("floreado de pajizo"). Gelegentlich werden die Fransen ("fluecos") erwähnt. Sie sind bei einem Teppich (*a*) "dorados de lana", wobei betont wird, dass sie nicht angesetzt, sondern aus der gleichen Kette ("de la misma urdiembre") sind, bei einem anderen sind sie strohfarben ("pajizos").

Im Übrigen werden nur die Masse und Schätzungswerte gegeben. In abgerundeter Umrechnung<sup>92</sup> lauten sie:

<i>a</i> )	1050 : 610 cm.....	400 dobls. <sup>93</sup>	
<i>b</i> )	350 : 250 cm.....	8 dobls.	<i>cortada</i>
<i>c</i> )	290 : 210 cm.....	30 reales	<i>maltratada</i>
<i>d</i> )	1420 : 310 cm.....	240 reales	<i>muy maltratada</i>
<i>e</i> )	880 : 420 cm.....	300 reales	
<i>f</i> )	330 : 250 cm.....	420 reales	
<i>g</i> )	670 : 330 cm.....	1120 reales	
<i>h</i> )	530 : 280 cm.....	...	
<i>i</i> )	530 : 330 cm.....	...	
<i>k</i> )	600 : 330 cm.....	...	
<i>l</i> )	330 : 60 cm.....	<i>h-l</i> 2550 reales	
<i>m</i> )	330 : 250 cm.....	360 reales	
<i>n</i> )	330 : 250 cm.....	180 reales	<i>maltratada</i>
<i>o</i> )	840 : 500 cm.....	2100 reales	
<i>p</i> )	1000 : 540 cm.....	3744 reales	

Das Ergebnis dieser Zusammenstellung ist nicht uninteressant. In zwei Fällen sind Masse angegeben, die für einen Orientteppich unmöglich sind. Bei dem Stück (*d*) dürfte das Format von 1420 zu 310 cm wohl dadurch entstanden sein, dass er für einen bestimmten Zweck gestückt ist, hebt doch auch das Inventar seinen schlechten Erhaltungszustand ("muy maltratada") hervor. Bei dem Stück (*l*) mit 330 zu 60 cm dürfte es sich um ein Fragment handeln. Bei den anderen bestätigt sich das Bild, das wir aus den früheren Eintragungen gewinnen konnten. Die Grösse der kairener Teppiche wechselt stark. Neben Stücken von über 10 m Länge stehen solche von nur 2,90 m. Auch die Proportionen sind sehr verschieden. Die grossen Exemplare erreichen oft fast das Verhältnis von 1 zu 2 zwischen Breite und Länge (*a*, *p*), ja in der mittleren Grösse wird es sogar gelegentlich überschritten (*e*, *g*), während bei den geringeren Grössen die Proportionen gedrungen werden (*c*, *f*, *m*, *n*). Rein quadratische Form kommt nicht vor. Dagegen wird von einem Teppich (*b*) angegeben, er sei achteckig ("ochavada").

<sup>92</sup> 1 vara span. — 0,847 cm.

<sup>93</sup> Der Wert der doblones ist so variabel, dass wir es

nicht wagen, ihn in ein festes Verhältnis zu den in reales angegebenen Werten zu bringen.

Soweit die Schätzungen ein Urteil zulassen, zeigt sich, dass der Wert der Teppiche nicht unbedingt von der Grösse abhängt (z.B. *e* und *f*), wenn auch selbstverständlich grössere Stücke im allgemeinen höher bewertet sind. Der Einfluss des Erhaltungszustandes auf die Einschätzung lässt sich verfolgen. Von zwei gleich grossen Teppichen wird der gut erhaltene (*m*) auf 360, der beschädigte (*n*) auf nur 180 reales geschätzt. Im allgemeinen liegen die Preise auf dem selben Niveau wie bei indischen und türkischen Teppichen gleicher Grösse, wobei allerdings ein Vergleich nur mit grösstem Vorbehalt zulässig ist.

Am aufschlussreichsten ist vielleicht der Erhaltungszustand der Teppiche. Schon im Inventar von 1701 wird einer (*b*) als gekürzt aufgeführt, von zwei weiteren (*c*, *n*) heisst es, sie seien "maltratada", von einem (*d*) sogar, er sei "muy maltratada". Ein weiteres Stück (*l*) ist nach den angegebenen Massen offenbar nur ein Fragment. 1751 werden überhaupt nur noch zwei Teppiche genannt, von denen einer nicht mehr brauchbar ("incapaz de servir") ist. 1789 dagegen wird von dem einzigen noch vorhandenen Teppich hervorgehoben, er sei "muy bien tratada". Das alles spricht dafür, dass der Bestand nicht mehr ergänzbar war, dass also die kairener Teppiche seit dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr hergestellt wurden.

Nr. 31. Diese Vermutung findet ihre Bestätigung in zwei Urkunden des 18. Jahrhunderts. 1726 wird in einem kaiserlichen Befehl an die Manufaktur in 'Ushāk angeordnet, die Herstellung der für das Zimmer des Alten Serails, in dem die Reliquien des Propheten aufbewahrt werden, bestimmten Teppiche zu beschleunigen, indem alle verfügbaren Arbeiter angesetzt werden, mit Ausnahme derjenigen, die mit den Aufträgen für Ägypten und für den Handel benötigt werden<sup>94</sup>. Ägypten wird also als Teppichimportland genannt, was die Annahme nahelegt, dass zu dieser Zeit seine eigene Produktion verschwunden oder doch stark zurückgegangen war.

Nr. 32. Endlich werden in Savarys sehr ausführlichem *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce* (Kopenhagen, 1762) keine kairener Teppiche mehr erwähnt. Er schreibt u.a.:

Les tapis qui viennent en France des pays étrangers sont les Tapis de Perse et de Turquie; ceux-ci ou velus ou ras, c'est à dire, ou à poil court ou à long poil. Les uns et les autres se tirent ordinairement par la voye de Smirne, ou il y en a de trois sortes.

Les uns qu'on appelle Mosquets se vendent à la pièce depuis 6 piastres jusqu'à 30 piastres le Tapis, suivant leur grandeur et leur finesse. Ils sont les plus beaux et les plus fins de tous.

Les autres se nomment Tapis de Pic, parce qu'on les achète au pic quarré. Ce sont les plus grands de ceux qui s'apportent du Levant. Leur prix est communément de demi piastre le pic.

Les moindres de tous sont ceux qu'on appelle Cadène: ils peuvent valoir depuis un piastre jusqu'à deux piastres le Tapis.

<sup>94</sup> A. Refik, *La Vie à Stamboul au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire* (Constantinople, 1930), S. 88, document Nr. 119.

Vergl. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, S. 370.



Fassen wir die Aussagen der aufgeführten Quellen zusammen: Die Teppichmanufaktur von Kairo blühte bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Zu jener Zeit bildeten ihre Erzeugnisse eine der beiden grossen Gattungen des Orientteppichs, die im Abendland bekannt waren. Alles spricht dafür, dass sie identisch sind mit den in venezianischen Inventaren so häufig genannten "tapedi damaschini", deren Ruf bereits 1518 bis nach England gedrungen war (Nr. 1). Am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts werden kairener Teppiche in italienischen (Nr. 4), deutschen (Nr. 7) und französischen Inventaren (Nrr. 3, 8) genannt. Besonders in Frankreich scheinen sie um 1600 beliebt gewesen zu sein. Die Mehrzahl der Teppiche im Nachlass der Katharina von Medici von 1589 (Nr. 6) stammt aus Kairo. Etwa um diese Zeit geht der Terminus "cairin" in die französische Umgangssprache ein (Nrr. 9, 10), und als Jehan Fortier 1604 seine Vorschläge zur Errichtung einer Teppichmanufaktur in Paris vorlegt, sind es kairener und persische Teppiche, die er sich anheischig macht, nachahmen zu können (Nr. 11).

Während des ganzen 17. Jahrhunderts behaupten die Teppiche Kairos, wie die Inventare zeigen, ihre Stellung im Abendland (Nrr. 12–15, 22, 23, 26), wenn sie auch in den grossen Sammlungen, wie der Richelieus und Mazarins, hinter die persischen zurücktreten. Noch 1688 werden sie unter den über Marseille eingeführten Waren genannt (Nr. 25), und erst im 18. Jahrhundert verschwinden sie, doch ist der Besitz des spanischen Königshauses an Teppichen dieser Gattung um 1700 noch recht ansehnlich (Nr. 27).

Aber ihre Bedeutung ist nicht auf das Abendland beschränkt. Die Berufung von elf Teppichmeistern an den Hof von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1585 (Nr. 5) beweist die überragende Stellung der ägyptischen Manufaktur, von der uns Thévenot 1663 eine so anschauliche Schilderung gegeben hat (Nr. 20). Seine Angabe, die Teppiche Kairos würden nicht nur nach dem Abendland, sondern auch nach Konstantinopel exportiert, bestätigt Ewliyā Čelebī mit seiner Beschreibung der Yeni Wälide Djāmi' in Konstantinopel, deren Boden auf das Prächtigste mit persischen und ägyptischen Teppichen geschmückt ist (Nr. 16), und mit der Angabe, dass die Teppichhändler dieser Stadt in ihren Läden neben einheimischer Ware aus Smyrna, 'Ushāk, Saloniki und Kāwāla Teppiche aus İsfahān und Kairo führen (Nr. 17). Sein Bericht wird wiederum bestätigt durch das Inventar der Yeni Wälide Djāmi' von 1674 und das des Serailschatzes von 1680, in denen zahlreiche ägyptische Teppiche genannt werden (Nrr. 21 und 24). Erst nach 1700 scheint die Produktion zurückzugehen. 1726 wird Ägypten zum ersten Mal als Teppichimportland erwähnt (Nr. 31), und 1762 werden unter den ausführlichen Angaben über den Teppichmarkt in Savarys *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce* keine ägyptischen Teppiche mehr genannt (Nr. 32).

Die kairener Teppiche waren also eine der bedeutendsten und beliebtesten Gattungen des Orientteppichs. Es entbehrt jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sich kein Exemplar von ihnen erhalten haben sollte. Alles spricht vielmehr dafür, dass sie sich unter dem uns überkommenen Material verbergen.

Welche Anhaltspunkte geben uns die Quellen für ihre Bestimmung?

1. Es muss sich bei den kairener Teppichen um eine zahlenmässig grosse Gattung handeln.

2. Es muss sich um eine Gruppe handeln, die von etwa 1450 bis etwa 1700 reicht und innerhalb dieser 250 Jahre bei allen möglichen Musterwandlungen doch einen gattungsmässigen Zusammenhang bewahrt hat.
3. Es muss sich um Teppiche von so hohem künstlerischen Niveau handeln, dass sie mit den Erzeugnissen der persischen Manufakturen konkurrieren und im Abendland wie im Morgenland zusammen mit diesen an repräsentativer Stelle verwendet werden konnten.

Über diese allgemeinen Richtlinien hinaus stehen uns noch folgende Einzelangaben zur Verfügung:

**MUSTER:** Spätere Stücke dieser Gattung zeigten gelegentlich ein grosses Rad (Nr. 12) oder Medaillon (Nr. 27 *a* und *b*) in der Mitte. Ausserdem gab es Reihengebetsteppiche (Nr. 21).

**FARBEN:** Bei einem verhältnismässig frühen Stück werden Rot, Blau und Gelb genannt (Nr. 7). Bei einem späten sind Feld und Borte karmesinrot (Nr. 27 *a*), bei einem anderen ist das Feld karmesinrot, die Borte hellblau (Nr. 27 *b*).

**FRANSEN:** Sie scheinen ein besonders auffälliges Merkmal gewesen zu sein. Sie waren meist gelb (Nrr. 7, 27 *b*), gelegentlich aus Seide (Nr. 7) oder aus golddurchwirkter Wolle (Nr. 27 *a*).

**FORMAT:** Die Grösse ist sehr verschieden. Das grösste erwähnte Stück misst 10,50 zu 6,10 m (Nr. 27 *a*), das kleinste 2,00 zu 1,20 m. (Nr. 12 *e*). Innerhalb des damit gegebenen Spielraums kommen so ziemlich alle Grössen vor)<sup>95</sup>. Die Proportionen sind z. T. ausgesprochen schlank (Nrr. 12 *c*, 14, 27 *e* und *g*), z. T. auffallend gedungen (Nrr. 12 *d*, 13, 27 *c*, *f*, *m*, und *n*), bis zur rein quadratischen Form (Nrr. 4, 12 *f*, 23). Paare und Serien gleicher Stücke kommen vor (Nrr. 7, 27 *m-n*). Mit dem Vorhandensein von kreisförmigen Teppichen muss gerechnet werden (Nr. 7). Einmal wird ein achteckiger Teppich erwähnt (Nr. 27 *b*)<sup>96</sup>.

Unsere Nummer	Masse	Proportion	Unsere Nummer	Masse	Proportion
27 <i>a</i>	1050 : 610	1,72 : 1	6, 20	365 : 225	1,62 : 1
27 <i>b</i>	1000 : 540	1,85 : 1	15	350 : 150	2,33 : 1
27 <i>c</i>	880 : 420	2,09 : 1	27 <i>f</i>	330 : 250	1,32 : 1
27 <i>d</i>	840 : 500	1,68 : 1	27 <i>m</i>	330 : 250	1,32 : 1
12 <i>a</i>	790 : 410	1,92 : 1	27 <i>n</i>	330 : 250	1,32 : 1
12 <i>b</i>	690 : 350	1,97 : 1	27 <i>c</i>	290 : 210	1,39 : 1
14	675 : 320	2,10 : 1	13	290 : 200	1,45 : 1
27 <i>g</i>	670 : 330	2,03 : 1	6, 23	265 : 160	1,65 : 1
8	630 : 355	1,77 : 1	12 <i>f</i>	230 : 230	1,00 : 1
27 <i>k</i>	600 : 330	1,81 : 1	12 <i>e</i>	200 : 120	1,66 : 1
27 <i>i</i>	530 : 330	1,60 : 1			
27 <i>h</i>	530 : 280	1,89 : 1			
12 <i>c</i>	530 : 240	2,20 : 1			
26	470 : 230	2,04 : 1			
12 <i>d</i>	430 : 350	1,22 : 1			
6, 21	430 : 225	1,46 : 1			

<sup>96</sup> Man wird wohl annehmen dürfen, dass er die Form eines regelmässigen Achtecks hatte. Seine Masse von 350 : 250 cm beruhen darauf, dass er geschnitten ("cortada") war. Vielleicht mass er ursprünglich 350 zu 350 cm.



QUALITÄT: Sie scheint sehr unterschiedlich gewesen zu sein. Gelegentlich werden feine und derbe, langhaarige Teppiche unterschieden (Nr. 12). Verwendung von Seide bei einzelnen Stücken ist wahrscheinlich (Nr. 9). Die an sich hoch liegenden Preise schwanken stark, ebenso ist die Zollspanne gross (Nr. 25).

Mit diesen Anhaltspunkten muss es möglich sein, die kairener Teppiche unter dem erhaltenen Material zu bestimmen, vor allem, da wir sie ja nur unter den Teppichen des näheren vorderen Orients, also unter den im weiteren Sinne türkischen Teppichen suchen können. Die Auswahl ist nicht gross. Weder die "Holbeinteppeiche" noch die 'Ushāks, noch eine der kleineren, um diese zu gruppierenden Gattungen kommen in Frage, abgesehen davon, dass die Provenienz dieser Gruppen aus Anatolien ihrerseits gut gesichert ist. Nur eine Gruppe erfüllt die Bedingungen, die durch die Aussagen der Quellen gegeben sind: die sogenannten "Damaskusteppeiche" im weiteren Sinn, also die Gruppe, die aus den geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppeichen": und den blumig gemusterten Teppichen der "türkischen Hofmanufaktur" gebildet wird.

Bei ihnen handelt es sich um eine zahlenmässig grosse Gruppe, deren Entstehung um 1450 wahrscheinlich, deren Existenz bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts sicher ist, und die während dieser 250 Jahre bei allen Wandlungen der Musterung einen deutlichen gattungsmässigen Zusammenhang bewahrt. Ihr künstlerisches Niveau liegt so hoch, dass sie in ihren besseren Erzeugnissen durchaus mit persischen Teppichen konkurrieren kann, mit denen sie überdies in der Musterung vielfach verbunden ist. Auch die Einzelangaben der Quellen enthalten nichts, was dieser Identifizierung widerspräche. Spätere Teppiche dieser Gruppe bevorzugen die Medaillonmusterung. Gelb, Rot und Blau sind die vorherrschenden Farben der früheren Exemplare, während die späteren gern Karmesinrot und Hellblau verwenden und nicht selten Farbgleichheit in Feld und Borte zeigen. Nahezu alle genannten Masse lassen sich bei erhaltenen Teppichen dieser Gruppe belegen, vor allem finden sich auch quadratische<sup>97</sup> und kreisförmige, bzw. achteckige Stücke<sup>98</sup>. Die Qualität ist verschieden, derbere Arbeiten stehen neben ausserordentlich feinen, bei denen auch Seide zur Verwenzung kommt.

Die seit langem beobachtete enge Verwandtschaft zwischen den geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppeichen" und den blumig gemusterten "türkischen Hofteppichen", die erst kürz-

<sup>97</sup> So misst z.B. ein unveröffentlichter, geometrisch gemusterter "Damaskusteppeich" im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Dresden 265 zu 255 cm, ein ähnlicher im Besitz des Baron Hatvany in Budapest 263 zu 277 cm, ein dritter in Wien (Sarre und Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, II, Taf. 47) 240 zu 260 cm. Ähnliche Formate kommen auch bei der blumig gemusterten Gruppe vor. So misst z.B. ein Teppich mit ovalem Mittelmedaillon im Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (Riegl, *op. cit.*, Taf. LXVIII, Nr. 86) 228 zu 228 cm, während sein Gegenstück im Victoria and Albert Museum in London (A. F.

Kendrick und C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets* ... [London, 1922], Taf. 30) 213 zu 200 cm misst. Bei einem blumig gemusterten Teppich ohne Medaillongliederung, der 1924 mit der Sammlung E. Zerner versteigert wurde (Kat. Nr. 105) kommt sogar ein leichtes Querformat vor, nämlich 240 zu 260 cm.

<sup>98</sup> Vergl. etwa den Teppich der Corcoran Gallery in Washington, den Troll, *op. cit.*, Fig. 10, wiedergegeben hat. Dazu Valentiner, *op. cit.*, Nr. 21 mit Massangabe: 8 feet 1 inch zu 7 feet 3 inches.

lich von Troll in *Ars Islamica* auch für den inneren Aufbau der Teppiche nachgewiesen worden ist<sup>99</sup>, besteht durchaus. Nur sind die Folgerungen, die man aus dieser Feststellung bisher gezogen hat, offenbar falsch. Sarre lokalisierte die "Damaskusteppiche" nach Ägypten, die "türkischen Hofteppiche" an einen noch unbekannten Ort in Kleinasien, wobei er die enge Verbindung der beiden Gruppen mit der Berufung der elf kairener Teppichmeister nach Konstantinopel erklärte. Troll kommt zu dem Ergebnis, der Zusammenhang sei so eng, dass beide Gruppen gemeinsam in einer Hofwerkstätte im westlichen Kleinasien entstanden sein müssten. Beide Folgerungen werden durch die Quellen widerlegt. Kairener Teppiche waren eine der bedeutendsten Gruppen vom 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert. Sie müssen vorhanden sein. Ehe man daher nicht eine andere Gattung unter den erhaltenen Teppichen aufzeigen kann, die mit ihnen zu identifizieren wäre, ist es nicht angängig, die "Damaskusteppiche" einer in Kleinasien gelegenen Hofwerkstatt zuzuschreiben, für die bisher kein einziger dokumentarischer Beweis vorhanden ist. Aber auch die ältere Lösung ist ungenügend. Die geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppiche" reichen kaum über das 16. Jahrhundert hinaus, und die vermutlich noch im 17. Jahrhundert gefertigten kleinteilig quadrierten Stücke<sup>100</sup> sind zu unbedeutend, um mit den kairener Teppichen der Quellen identisch zu sein, abgesehen davon, dass ihre Musterung nicht zu den gelegentlichen Angaben der Inventare passt. Es bleibt nur eine Lösung: mit den kairener Teppichen der Inventare und Quellen sind anfangs die noch aus dem mamlūkischen Kreis stammenden, geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppiche"<sup>101</sup> und später die sich aus ihnen unter osmanischem Einfluss entwickelnden, blumigen "türkischen Hofteppiche"<sup>102</sup> gemeint, d.h. aber: die heute noch als Erzeugnisse einer an einem unbekannten Ort Kleinasiens gelegenen türkischen Hofmanufaktur betrachteten Teppiche stammen aus Kairo, wo sie sich im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts aus den geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppichen" entwickelt haben<sup>103</sup>.

Selbstverständlich wäre es gewagt, damit die Existenz einer Hofwerkstätte in Kleinasien überhaupt leugnen zu wollen. Die Berufung der elf kairener Teppichmeister im Jahre 1585 und die Erwähnung eines Hauses der Teppichmacher bei Ewliyā Čelebi<sup>104</sup> legt es nahe, dass auch in Konstantinopel Teppiche hergestellt wurden, die allerdings offenbar nur für den Be-

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.*, S. 201–31.

<sup>100</sup> Auf der Basis der Sarreschen These lag es nahe, die von Thévenot beschriebenen Teppiche mit dieser Gruppe zu identifizieren. (Vergl. Erdmann, "Ägyptische Teppiche", S. 198.)

<sup>101</sup> Die Bodenständigkeit der geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppiche" in Ägypten werde ich in dem zweiten dieses Artikels besprechen.

<sup>102</sup> Troll, *op. cit.*, bildet einen geometrisch gemusterten "Damaskusteppich" ab, der Eckzwickel im Stil der blumigen Teppiche hat, und schliesst daraus, dass die beiden Gruppen zeitlich nicht weit auseinanderliegen können. Dieser "Mischstil", wie er ihn sehr richtig nennt, ist

keineswegs so selten vertreten. Wir besitzen eine ganze Anzahl von Teppichen, in denen die Formen der beiden Gruppen neben einander auftreten. Sie werden im Teil II dieses Artikels, in einer später erscheinenden Nummer von *Ars Islamica*, behandelt werden; es wird sich dann zeigen, wie geometrisch und blumig gemusterte Teppiche eine Zeitlang neben einander existiert haben müssen, und wie sich langsam die eine Form endgültig aus der anderen entwickelt.

<sup>103</sup> Diese Lösung des Problems ist zuerst, noch ohne Kenntnis der hier vorgeführten Quellen von E. Kühnel gesprächsweise als Vermutung ausgesprochen worden.

<sup>104</sup> Vergl. Anm. 70.



darf des Hofes selber bestimmt waren, und deren Erzeugnisse nicht auf den Markt kamen. Wie weit sie auf anderen Wegen, z.B. als Geschenke, nach dem Abendland gelangten, können wir heute noch nicht übersehen. Wir müssen aber bis auf Weiteres damit rechnen, dass sich unter den "türkischen Hofteppichen" eine kleine Gruppe in Konstantinopel gefertigter Stücke befindet, während die Mehrzahl in Kairo entstanden ist.

L'INSCRIPTION QUI VA ÊTRE PRÉSENTÉE ICI A ÉTÉ PUBLIÉE DANS LE *RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE d'épigraphie arabe* sous le n° 3006: la transcription lacunaire et incertaine qu'on trouvera dans ce recueil représente à peu près le résultat auquel—épigraphiste novice—j'étais parvenu lorsque j'avais vu le monument pour la première fois, au printemps 1924. Il se trouvait alors déposé dans la cour du Lycée d'Alep,<sup>1</sup> exposé à la fois aux intempéries et aux dégradations accidentelles. On l'a transporté depuis au Musée de Damas et c'est à cette circonstance que je dois d'avoir pu en mener à bien le déchiffrement définitif, grâce aux facilités de toutes sortes que m'a accordées le Conservateur, l'Emir Djaffar el-Hasani, qui a bien voulu en outre m'autoriser à le publier: je le prie de trouver ici l'expression de la gratitude que je lui garde pour ce témoignage d'amicale bienveillance.

L'inscription est brisée en neuf fragments. L'agencement original n'en apparaît pas dès l'abord, mais la teneur du texte et d'autres considérations qu'on trouvera exposées plus loin montrent que ces fragments doivent être répartis en quatre panneaux rectangulaires (deux offrant l'aspect de très longues dalles, et deux plus petits, de proportions plus voisines du carré) dont l'inscription suit les bords, laissant au centre un espace vide (*Fig. 1*).

## A

Les arêtes des lettres sont épaufrées et la pierre en partie usée, mais le texte est aisément lisible sur l'original:

يُشَرِّهُم رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ وَجَنَّتْ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُقِيمٌ

Leur Seigneur les réjouit par l'annonce de Sa miséricorde et de Son agrément et de jardins où ils trouveront des délices éternelles. (Kur'ān, IX, 18.)

Ce verset coranique trouve sa place logique sur les tombes; il figure assez fréquemment dans les épitaphes syriennes de l'époque médiévale pour que sa présence suffise à établir la nature du monument qui portait l'inscription.

## B

[بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ • وَلَا تَحْسَبْ [بَنَ] الَّذِينَ قَتَلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَالَهُمْ (أ) تَأْتِلُ بِأَحْيَاءٍ عِنْدَ [رَبِّهِمْ]   
 cart. يرزقون - [ت] وفي - cart. — الشهيد - الأمير الفقير إلى ر[حمة] ربّه نور الدو[لة] بك بن [إ] هرام بن ارتق

NOTES. *Tuwuḥfiya*: première lettre disparue; deuxième et troisième lettres à tête circulaire, donc *w* ou *f-k*, vestiges du *y*. La pierre provenant d'une tombe, la lecture *t w f y* s'impose.

*Rabbihi* et *Nūr*: le *r* au dessus de la ligne d'écriture.

<sup>1</sup> Antérieurement, il avait été abrité dans la Citadelle:   
 F. Sarre et E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Eu-*

*phrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1920), II, 282, n. 1.



*Dawla*: une partie seulement de la tête circulaire du *w* conservée; elle suffit pour assurer la lecture, d'autant plus qu'on trouve plus loin un titre en *-Dīn*.

La restitution du nom du défunt sera discutée plus loin.

## C

فخر الدين شمس الامر [اء س] يف المجاهدين زعيم جيوش المسلمين استشهد رضي الله [له] عنه ونور  
ضر [له] حه - cart. - رحمه - في شهر ربيع الا [ول] - cart. ثمان عشرة وخمسمائة

NOTES. *Istashhada*: le début du mot est bien conservé; les deux dernières lettres sont frustes mais ont laissé des traces suffisantes pour assurer la lecture, en relation avec le verset coranique cité en *A* et la teneur d'un des petits cartouches du panneau *B*.

Sur la restitution de la date, v. ci-dessous.

## D

ناصر [الاما] م سهم الملوك sic قاهر الكفرة والمشركين

NOTES. [*al-imā*]*m*: meilleur que [*al-islā*]*m*, en raison de la place de la formule dans la titulature.

Ces trois panneaux portent donc une épitaphe dont le texte peut être ainsi traduit:

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux.—“Certes, vous ne devez pas croire que soient morts ceux qui ont été tués pour la cause de Dieu: au contraire, ils sont vivants auprès de leur Seigneur et reçoivent de Lui leurs moyens d'existence” (Qur'ān, III, 163).—Le martyr, l'émir qui a besoin de la miséricorde de son Seigneur, Nūr al-Daw[la Balak, fils de Ba]hrām fils d'Ortoğ, l'orgueil de la religion, le soleil des émirs, le glaive des champions de la guerre sainte, le chef des armées musulmanes, le défenseur de l'imām, la flèche des rois, le dompteur des infidèles et de ceux qui associent à Dieu d'autres divinités, a été rappelé à Dieu. Il a trouvé le martyr—Dieu veuille l'agréer, illuminer sa tombe et lui faire miséricorde—au mois de Rabī [I] 518 (avril-mai 1124).

Une cassure de la pierre a fait disparaître le nom du défunt, mais sa restitution est certaine.

Il est en effet évident—le caractère soigné de l'inscription et la succession de titres honorifiques le révèlent—que le personnage dont nous avons là la tombe était un chef militaire occupant un grade élevé dans la hiérarchie. Il mourut en guerre sainte en Rabī' I ou Rabī' II 518 et fut enterré à Alep. Il portait le surnom de Nūr al-Dawla. Enfin les derniers mots de l'inscription du bloc *B* invitent à le chercher parmi les membres de la famille ortoğide.

Parmi ceux-ci il en est un qui répond *exactement* à *toutes* ces conditions: l'émir *Nūr al-Dawla Balak, fils de Bahrām fils d'Ortoğ*, qui fut un des plus redoutables adversaires des Croisés et fut tué devant Manbij le 19 Rabī' I 518 H. (6 mai 1124 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Son corps fut trans-

<sup>2</sup> Sa biographie dans “Balak,” *Encycl. Islām*.—Récit de sa mort in *Receuil des hist. croisades, Historiens orientaux* (Paris, 1872), I, 15 (Abū'l-Fidā'), 355 (Ibn al-Athīr): III, 563 (*Mirāt al-Zamān*) et 641-42 (Ibn al-

'Adīm, qui donne la version la plus circonstanciée).—Cf. Ch. Ledit, *Ibn Shaddād*, dans *Mashriq*, XXXIII (1935), 219 où il est appelé fautivement *Nūr al-Dīn Balak b. 'Anī b. Bahrām b. Ortoğ*, à corriger d'après un manuscrit

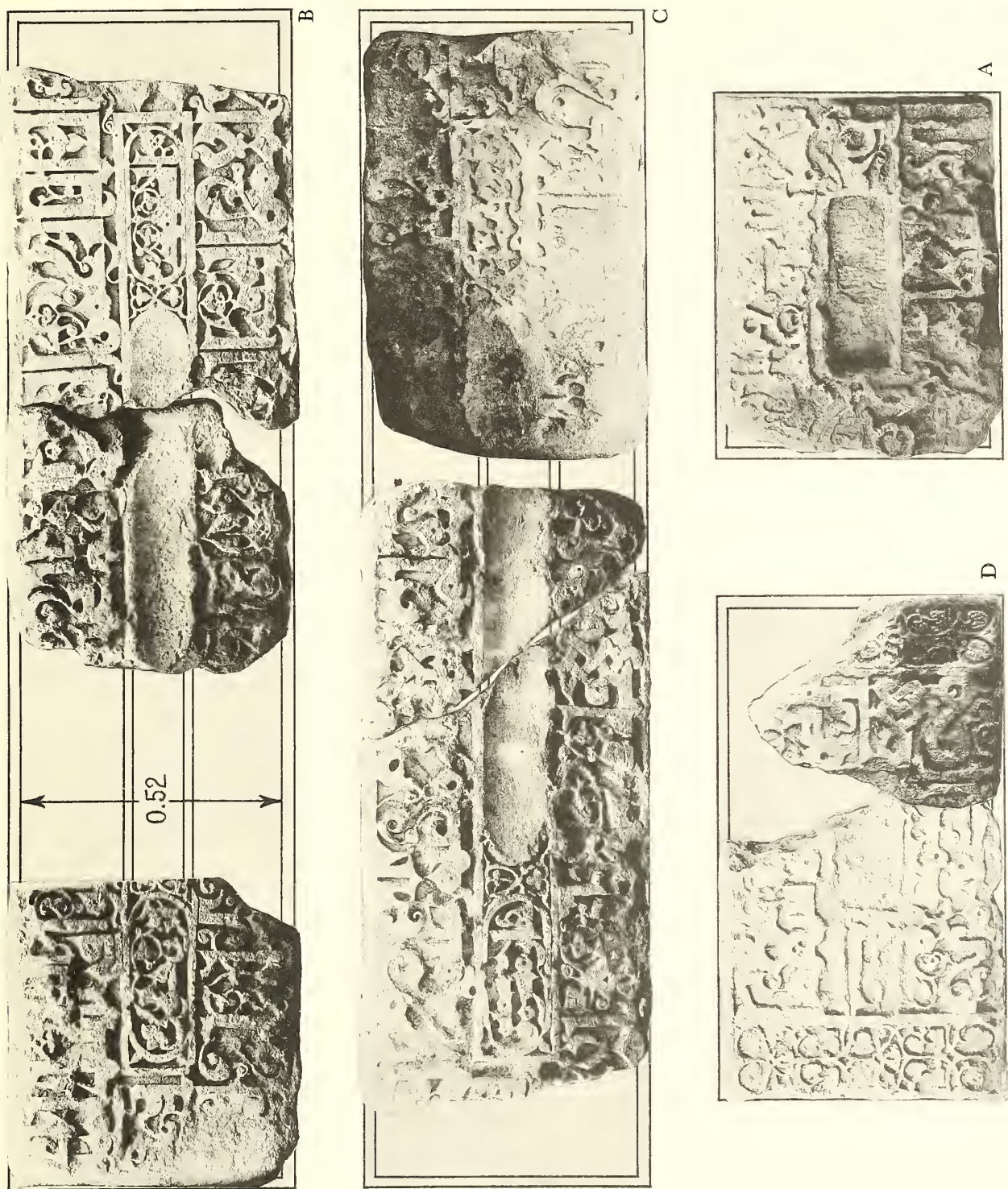


FIG. 1, A-D—TOMBE DE BALAK, 518 H. (1124 A.D.), ASSEMBLAGE DES FRAGMENTS, MUSÉE DE DAMAS





FIG. 2.—TOMBE DE BALAK, 518 H. (1124 A.D.), DÉTAILS, MUSÉE DE DAMAS





FIG. 3—TOMBE DE BALAK, 518 H. (1124 A.D.), DÉTAILS, MUSÉE DE DAMAS



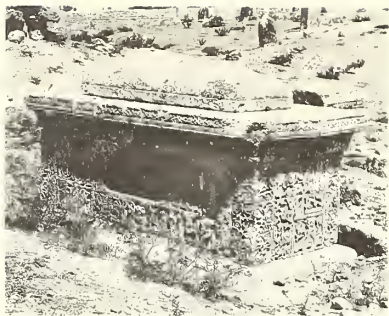


FIG. 4

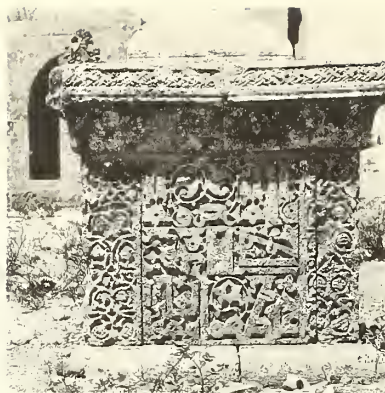


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

FIGS. 4-5—TOMBE DE 525 H. (1130-31 A.D.), ALEP  
CIMETIÈRE DES ŠĀLIHĪN



FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9

FIGS. 6-9—TOMBES, SIXIÈME SIÈCLE H. (DOUZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.), ALEP, CIMETIÈRE DES ŠĀLIHĪN



FIG. 10

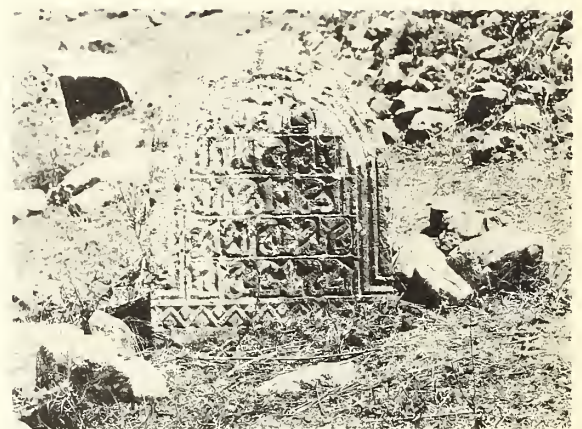


FIG. 11

FIGS. 10-11—TOMBES À CAISSON ET STÈLES, SIXIÈME SIÈCLE H. (DOUZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.), ERHĀB

porté à Alep et enterré "au sud du Maḳām d'Abraham. Sur son tombeau étaient de grandes pierres où était inscrit en coufique le verset: Certes vous ne devez pas croire, etc."<sup>3</sup>

Cette dernière particularité, assez rare pour être considérée comme un indice décisif, achève de lever toute incertitude quant au titulaire de la tombe à identifier.<sup>4</sup>

Au sud du Maḳām d'Abraham d'Alep, au point d'où proviendrait la tombe de Balak, existe précisément un groupe de sépultures anciennes datant du sixième siècle H. (douzième siècle A.D.).<sup>5</sup> Trois d'entre elles (*Figs. 4-7*), semblables quant à leur type, nous représentent sans aucun doute l'aspect originel du monument funéraire dont les fragments du Musée de Damas sont les derniers débris. Elles se composent d'un coffre rectangulaire élevé sur un socle à gradins et supportant un couvercle débordant, sur lequel est posé un petit *djamaḷūn*. Ces tombes sont en pierre de taille, mais leur parenté avec les cénotaphes de bois est indubitable.

L'une d'elles, datée de 525 H. (1130-31 A.D.) (*Figs. 4 et 5*), a conservé son décor sculpté,<sup>6</sup> moins riche, et moins beau surtout, que celui de la tombe de Balak, mais comparable à ce dernier aussi bien sous le rapport de la composition d'ensemble que sous celui du type des caractères et des fleurons; on retrouve d'autre part sur les deux monuments les mêmes entrelacs de pampres stylisés, mêlés à un feston géométrique. Ce monument funéraire d'un inconnu, qu'un caprice du sort nous a transmis intact, nous offre donc une réplique de la tombe du chef ortoḳide.

Ce modèle de sépulture est largement répandu en Syrie au douzième siècle; le même cimetière d'Alep nous en fournit des variantes plus modestes (*Figs. 8 et 9*); à Damas on le retrouve à profusion. Je ne crois pas possible, cependant, de lui attribuer une origine locale.

Les inscriptions qui chargent les tombes de ce type s'apparentent en effet non pas aux textes de l'époque fatimide, mais bien à l'épigraphie de la *Haute-Mésopotamie*: c'est aux monuments de cette région qu'il faut recourir pour retrouver, en même temps que des fleurons analogues, des formes de lettres aussi hardies et d'une valeur décorative aussi marquée: c'est à Mossoul,<sup>7</sup> Diyārbekir,<sup>8</sup> Mayyāfāriḳīn<sup>9</sup> et dans la contrée avoisinante qu'on rencontre les plus

(Stamboul, Revan Köshkü) en *N. D. Balak-Ghāzī b. Bahrām b. Ortoḳ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kawākib Muḏī'a*, ap. R. Ṭabbāḳh, *I'lām al-Nubalā'* (Alep, 1928), I, 453, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Une seule difficulté, mais qui n'est pas de conséquence: Balak ne fut pas tué, comme le laisse entendre son épitaphe, en combattant l'infidèle, mais il périt en cherchant à réduire un chef musulman qui refusait de se joindre à lui dans la lutte contre les Croisés, circonstance suffisante pour que le titre de *shahīd* lui fût attribué.— Cf. l'exclamation de Balak arrachant la flèche de sa

blesse et crachant sur elle: "Voilà qui a tué tous les Musulmans!" (*Histoire des crois., Hist. or.*, III, 642.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Sauvaget, "Inventaire des monuments d'Alep," *Rev. études islamiques*, 1931, p. 74, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie...* (Le Caire, 1931 et suiv.), N<sup>o</sup> 3042. Un fragment de son décor reproduit dans *Rev. arts asiatiques*, 1934, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Sarre et Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, t. II.

<sup>8</sup> S. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder...* (Basel, 1920).

<sup>9</sup> A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologique dans les provinces orientales de la turquie* (sous presse), Pls. CV-CX.



beaux exemples de cette épigraphie ornementale très particulière, luxuriante dans son aspect encore qu'assez pauvre dans son répertoire de motifs individualisés, qui ne tire en définitive son effet que d'incessantes variations de détails apportées à un type initial par une incomparable richesse d'invention (*Figs. 2 et 3*).

Dans les tombes de Damas, sur lesquelles nous reviendrons ailleurs plus longuement, l'origine extra-syrienne du type ne semble pas seulement attestée par les caractères de l'épigraphie, mais encore par le fait qu'elles recouvrent la sépulture de personnages venus de Mésopotamie (c'est ici, précisément, le cas de Balak), ou ont été élevées par des princes venus, eux aussi, de Mossoul ou de Baghdād.

Circonstance qui ne paraît pas devoir être négligée dans la discussion: il existe en Syrie, à la même époque, un autre type de monument funéraire irréductible au précédent. Il offre l'aspect d'un *caisson sans couvercle, pourvu à chaque extrémité d'une stèle arrondie* (*Figs. 10 et 11*); sur ces stèles se développent des inscriptions d'une écriture coufique raide et sèche, privée d'ornements, et des entrelacs géométriques rudimentaires gravés au trait ou sculptés sans relief appréciable.

Ce type de tombe me paraît représenter, par rapport à la tombe-cénotaphe, une forme archaïque. On le retrouve en effet dans un pays qui ne peut guère passer pour être à l'avant-garde des mouvements artistiques de l'Islam: le Maroc.<sup>10</sup> Les inscriptions qu'on y relève appartiennent à l'épigraphie syrienne de l'époque fatimide (*Fig. 11*). Enfin leur décor (*Fig. 12*) procède du même esprit et de la même technique que l'ornementation des monuments élevés en Syrie Nord aux cinquième et sixième siècles A.D., sans que cette similitude puisse être mise sur le compte d'un emprunt direct, d'une copie de motifs observés sur des ruines.<sup>11</sup>

D'autre part il est très remarquable que ce mode de sépulture se rencontre moins dans les villes<sup>12</sup> que dans des agglomérations plus modestes; je l'ai noté en particulier à Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, à al-Sammūka (nord d'Alep) et à Erhāb (*Djebel Sim'an*), c'est à dire dans des localités de caractère à demi rural, restées à l'écart des grands courants artistiques, où l'on peut à priori s'attendre à rencontrer des formes plus archaïsantes que dans les grands centres urbains: circonstance qui vient à l'appui de notre interprétation.

Si nos conclusions sont exactes, la tombe de Balak se rattacherait donc à une forme étrangère, d'origine mésopotamienne, introduite en Syrie à la suite de l'assujettissement du pays à des princes turcs: l'histoire de l'architecture, où ces influences mésopotamiennes se font jour avec plus de netteté, est là pour montrer qu'une telle supposition n'a rien que de vraisemblable.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bourrilly et E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines* (Paris, 1927), Pl. XIV.

<sup>11</sup> Les localités où nous avons remarqué ce type de tombe sont en effet généralement dépourvues de monuments antérieurs à l'Islam: Erhāb seule en possède

quelques-uns, mais ce sont presque exclusivement des maisons particulières qui n'ont reçu aucune ornementation.

<sup>12</sup> Quelques exemples seulement conservés à Alep (cimetières des Šāliḥīn et de la Porte de ẖinnasrīn).

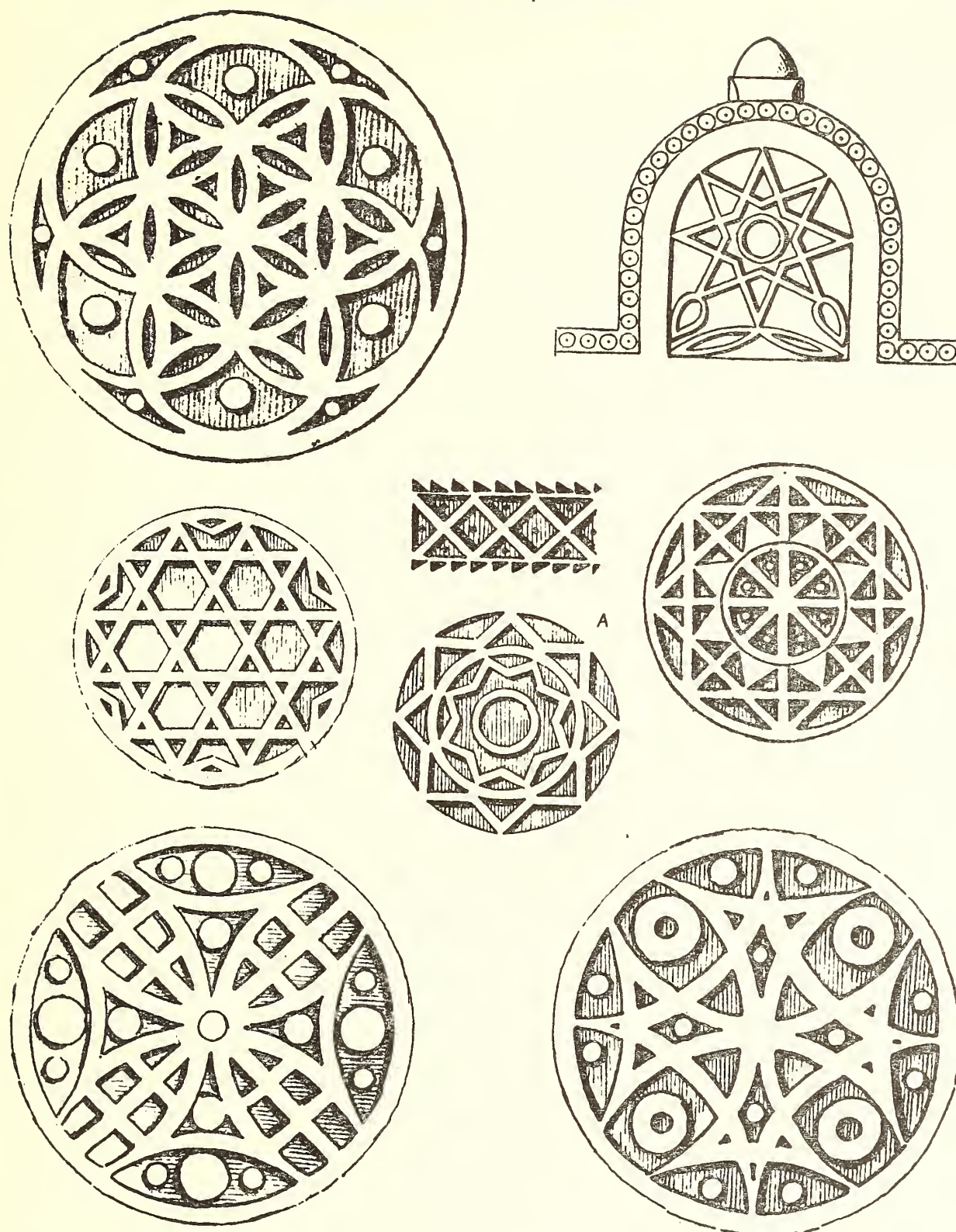


FIG. 12—SYRIE NORD, DÉCOR DE TOMBES À CAISSON ET STÈLES DU SIXIÈME SIÈCLE H. (DOUZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.)  
LE MOTIF A PROVIENT D'AL-SAMMŪKA, LES AUTRES D'ERHĀB



## THE EXPRESSIONIST STYLE IN EARLY IRANIAN ART

BY D. TALBOT RICE

THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF WHAT IS GENERALLY KNOWN AS THE MESOPOTAMIAN or Baghdad school in Islamic painting has recently been examined by I. Stchoukine,<sup>1</sup> and his conclusions as to the preponderance of the influence exercised by the Sasanian element on the development of that school can no longer be disputed. Byzantine influence did, indeed, have a part to play, but it was not, as E. Blochet suggested, the role of a protagonist;<sup>2</sup> rather it was an influence affecting superficialities only. It is to be seen, for instance, in the types of many of the faces, and also in much of the coloring, more especially in the use of gold. Essentially Byzantine again is the custom of indicating the folds of the stuffs of which costumes are made; the East prefers to portray them as solid, boardlike materials on which the elaborate woven patterns that were popular there can be displayed and appreciated to full effect. But it is only in such features that Byzantine influence is to be seen. The fundamental spirit of the art remains quite distinct, and it is something which is essentially Iranian.

Stchoukine regarded this spirit as Sasanian, and there can be no doubt as to the influence of Sasanian style on Islamic painting, as well as of Sasanian art in the sphere of iconography. T. W. Arnold has already cited a number of instances in proof of this,<sup>3</sup> and though examples could be multiplied, it is not my purpose to do so here. Rather do I intend to trace further than Stchoukine was able to do the history of the style which he believes to be Sasanian, having regard to certain recent researches into the art of Iran at an earlier period, and more especially to those of Rostovtzev.

At the outset it will be well to define in my own terms what I believe to be the essentials of Sasanian style, insofar as it affects Islamic painting. In essence it may perhaps be best described by borrowing a term more generally used in writings on the most recent art, namely "expressionist." Paintings that are to be described under this head are not closely bound by nature. They do not so much seek to portray any particular object, person, or animal, or even to give an impression of the subject as caught in the sudden vision of a moment, as to render the spirit of the thing concerned, so that it expresses itself and all that appertains to it with the greatest possible force. The art is not bound by vision or by appearances so much as by the underlying idea; it is not the body, but rather the spirit, that the artist concentrates on reproducing, or rather, on expressing. Some particular feature of the model is generally seized upon and accentuated, or even exaggerated, as in caricature, in order to attain this end; but whereas in caricature the main object is humorous, in "expressionism" it is the opposite, and the deepest emotions of life are dealt with. This process may be conscious, as it is in the art

<sup>1</sup> *La Peinture iranienne* (Bruges, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> *Musulman Painting* (London, 1929).

<sup>3</sup> *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian*

*Painting* (Oxford, 1924), and *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928).

of today, or it may be almost entirely unconscious, as it probably was in ancient Iran. The results, though not in any sense akin, are comparable when regarded from the point of view of psychological aesthetics.

That the majority of paintings that are classed under the heading "Mesopotamian School" are to be described as "expressionist" is at once obvious, if we look at them critically. A few typical examples may be referred to by way of illustration. Most obvious are the studies of single objects or animals, like the numerous trees, plants, or beasts which appear as illustrations to any copy of the works of Dioscorides; that of the thirteenth century in the Meshed shrine may be cited.<sup>4</sup> These trees are not close portrayals of any individual, or even of any known trees, but they express nevertheless as well as it is possible to conceive all that is intrinsically "treeish." The typical Persian lions, which appear so often on pottery and metal work, are again not exact replicas, nor are they what Cézanne would have called "like"; but they have beyond question a vividness and vitality that not only conveys all that appertains to the animal, but also gives the object they decorate something that is well nigh a life of its own in the animal world. The same approach is again clearly to be seen in the famous camels on a page of the Schefer *Ḥarīrī*.<sup>5</sup> Close packed and rhythmical in their treatment, they express with amazing clarity all that is essentially camelish. The grunts and moans, the snorting and chewing, the very pungent smell of the beasts can all be sensed here probably more vividly than would be possible in a less stylized and less abstract rendering.

Apart from the nature of the style, paintings of this group are also to be distinguished by certain more tangible features, all of which have been alluded to by Stchoukine. Most notable is the portrayal of figures and backgrounds on a single plane; only at a later date, when a new manner intrudes from the East, does a multiplication of planes begin. As a result, the work tends to be effective because of its rhythm and the intricacy of its pattern, for with the single plane three dimensionalism is necessarily subordinate. The art is, however, not severe and ascetic, as two-dimensional art so frequently tends to be,<sup>6</sup> but is colorful, vivid, and spontaneous. The treatment on the single plane runs in the happiest accord with the "expressionist" understanding.

We know but little of Sasanian painting, but what we do know shows us that it must have been of exactly similar character. The few fragments of wall paintings that have survived exhibit the same bright colors, the same single planes, and the same vividness. The metal work is again in this forceful style,<sup>7</sup> while the superb figures of the rock reliefs, though they have depth and true sculptural feeling, are also invariably shown on a single plane. Usually they are restricted to two figures face to face, as in the well-known investiture scenes, but

<sup>4</sup> L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), No. 6, Pl. V.

<sup>5</sup> Bib. Nat. No. 5847. See E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting* (London, 1929), Pl. XXIX.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance the majority of Anglo-Saxon or later Byzantine ivories in ancient times and such sculp-

tures as those of Eric Gill today.

<sup>7</sup> Most striking are specimens in the Hermitage. See for instance those illustrated by F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), Pls. 106, 112, and 122. The style culminates in the post-Sasanian metal ewers (*ibid.*, Pls. 138, 139, and 140).



even where more complicated subjects, comprising numerous figures, appear, they are divided into a series of registers, separated from one another by bands, the figures in each series appearing one behind the other on a single plane.<sup>8</sup> Even at Tāk-i Bustān, where the dividing lines are omitted, the figures are shown in a series of parallel rows, one above the other.<sup>9</sup>

It was not, however, in Sasanian art that such things appeared for the first time. The single plane and many of the other features characteristic of Sasanian art, more especially some of the subjects, were known long before in the flourishing Achaemenid age, and it is hence to a certain extent true to say, as many writers have done, that Sasanian art constituted a renaissance of what had existed in Iran before the intrusion of Greek elements at the time of Alexander. But such a statement is not entirely true, for there is a very distinct difference between the Sasanian and early Islamic styles on the one hand and the Achaemenid on the other, in that the former are, as I have attempted to show by citing examples from early Islamic times, essentially "expressionist," whereas Achaemenid art was straightforwardly, and sometimes even rather prosaically, naturalistic. It may at times use symbolism, in that it portrays certain objects that are recognizable as symbols for something else or as symbolical of some religious theme, but the art is never symbolical in spirit, as was much of Sasanian art, and it can never be termed abstract. In Achaemenid art all is to be seen clearly on the surface; in Sasanian much of the meaning is esoteric, and much of the emotion that we experience on beholding its products is due to what is left to the imagination—it is an art that stimulates the imagination rather than satisfies it.

The "expressionist" style was thus born after Achaemenid times, though it was fully developed by Sasanian. In actual fact it first grew up in the intervening Parthian age, and two series of monuments survive to bear witness to its growth, one in South Russia and the other in northern Mesopotamia. In religious art the most important example is afforded by the rock sculptures of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nimrūd Dagħ, of 34 B.C.<sup>10</sup> The whole appearance of the relief savors of deep mysticism, and, with its symbolism and abstraction, it is the very expression of the esoteric sun cult with which it was associated. The secular monuments are made up in the main of banqueting and hunting scenes and are of the same symbolical character; they also have a semireligious significance, on and above the purely sporting context. Later and more spectacular examples are afforded by the numerous tomb paintings of Kertch and Panticapaeum of the second century A.D.<sup>11</sup> Earlier ones, in painting, which are purely Parthian, have recently been discovered by the Yale expedition at Dura; that they did not stand alone is proved by the close similarity that they show with monuments from Palmyra, both in painting and in sculpture.

The history and whole nature of these monuments have recently been brilliantly analyzed

<sup>8</sup> Most notable are two reliefs at Shāpūr, one on the south side of the valley, in eight panels (*ibid.*, Pl. 72), and one on the north side, in four registers (*ibid.*, Pl. 77). These two reliefs are wrongly described in the legend to Sarre's plates as the same.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. 86 and 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 56.

<sup>11</sup> M. Rostovtzev, *Antique Decorative Art in South Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1914), Vol. II, pls. The text is in Russian.

by Rostovtzev.<sup>12</sup> He was the first to call attention to the close similarity between the South Russian and the Syrian examples, and it was he who was responsible for pointing out the Iranian style and the Iranian origin of both series. The style, in the secular as well as in the religious sphere, is of an esoteric, "expressionist" character, and at Nimrūd Dagh we have a monument that can at very first sight be associated with a mysterious sun cult such as Mithraism, rather than with an anthropomorphic religious faith like that of Greece. Both in Greece, and to a great extent also in Achaemenid Persia, where flourished the two civilizations from which Parthian culture was derived, straightforwardness and explicitness were above anything else the hallmarks of thought and art.

We learned in algebra that two minuses made a plus, and here we seem to have the same thing in art, for the blend between the Achaemenid and Greek cultures which was accomplished in Mesopotamia between about 300 and 100 B.C. made out of the two cultures, one of which was essentially, and the other to a great extent, explicit, a culture which turned out to be of exactly opposite character. Here ideas in religious thought were muddled and complicated, and the lack of clarity was dissembled under a cloak of mystery. Hand in hand with this trend in philosophy there ran a similar trend in art. At the outset the art that resulted was little more than the consequence of an inability to think or conceive clearly; it was an unconscious attempt to hide ineptitude under a cloak of abstraction. But it soon developed into a definite style, where abstraction became an aim in itself, and work of real quality was often produced, though it was the inner or emotional side that was stressed rather than that of representation or external beauty.

This stressing of inner meaning rather than outward appearance has tended to bring about a general neglect of the history of this style, and even such writers as have admitted its separate existence have often dismissed it as nothing but a manifestation of incompetence. The classical specialists have thus discarded the greater part of Hellenistic art, where the manner is clearly apparent, as nothing but decadence; the Romanists have condemned works which show the presence of the manner as nothing but the result of Eastern maladroitness; the archaeologists, like Herzfeld, have regarded the style, as for instance at Samarra, as the last expiring breath of a sterile Romano-Sasanid hybrid; the medievalists, like Blochet, have attributed its presence in the miniatures of the Mesopotamian school to an inability to copy Byzantine models correctly. All such estimations have in reality been very far from the mark, for the movement was without doubt something ordered and consecutive, as well as something inevitable. It was born, as Rostovtzev has shown, in the Parthian period, as the result of certain religious and cultural changes, thanks to the suppression of the old Achaemenid court art by the Greek invasion. It was fostered, thanks to its sponsorship, by an esoteric religion, and it became at the same time the concrete expression of that religion and the mirror of a very distinct cultural phase. It was developed to the full during the Sasanian age and became

<sup>12</sup> "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, V (1936), 155-304. This is one of the

most suggestive works that have appeared in recent years.



almost certainly the basic style of Manichaean and Nestorian art. It survived for the next five centuries in Iraq and Iran in the miniature paintings of the Mesopotamian school. Only with the introduction from the East at the end of the thirteenth century of the new Mongol manner, with its feathery lightness and its idealization, did the "expressionist" style begin to decline. It cropped up again with amazing purity in certain later works, as for instance in some of the miniatures of the Edinburgh al-Birūnī of 1307,<sup>13</sup> in some of those of al-Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* of the fifteenth century at Leningrad,<sup>14</sup> or in a painting in the Sarre collection of the angel who will sound the last trumpet at the Resurrection.<sup>15</sup> But these are single examples. In the main the "expressionist" style was overcome in the fourteenth century by a new art which we know as something intrinsically Persian, and in which Chinese elements play quite an important part.

Outside Iran the "expressionist" style exercised a wide influence in the West and in the East. In the latter direction, a considerable number of Manichaean paintings can be cited as examples,<sup>16</sup> as well as others which are Buddhist in context.<sup>17</sup> In the West Millet has shown the full importance of the Syrian realist manner in the history of Byzantine painting, and all the characteristics of this art coincide with those of our "expressionist" style and were certainly the outcome of it.<sup>18</sup> J. Strzygowski too has had cause to refer to it in Christian art, more especially with regard to what he terms the "Hvarenah landscapes," compositions of Iranian inspiration, the character of which was determined, not by fidelity to nature, but by the symbolic value. The mosaics in the apse of St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna afford an instance of the occurrence of this symbolical landscape in Byzantine art.<sup>19</sup> The "expressionist" style was, in fact, carried far afield both by numerous waves of migrating peoples and also by "peaceful penetration," and it is to be counted as one of the fundamental styles at the basis of medieval art. If a thirteenth-century illumination of the Mesopotamian school does not seem out of place beside a contemporary European work, it is not so much because there are certain Byzantine elements to be seen in both, as Blochet would assert, but because the "expressionist" style exercised its effect on the West as well as on the East. It is a style the existence of which we cannot afford to disregard, and one which will come more and more into prominence as our examination of Sasanian and Parthian monuments proceeds. And the more we examine the style from the aesthetic point of view, the more do we come to realize how true was Strzygowski's suggestion that medieval art was born in Iran about the first century before Christ.

<sup>13</sup> T. W. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art* (London, 1932), Pls. IV and V.

<sup>14</sup> Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII, B. See especially the angel.

<sup>15</sup> E. Kühnel, *La Miniature en Orient* (Paris, n.d.), Pl. 33. See also German edition of the same work.

<sup>16</sup> For instance those of the ninth century found by

the von Le Coq expedition and now at Berlin. H. Glück, *Christliche Kunst des Ostens* (Berlin, 1923), Pls. 4 and 5.

<sup>17</sup> M. A. Stein, *Innermost Asia* (Oxford, 1928), Pl. CVIII.

<sup>18</sup> See especially his *Iconographie de l'Evangile* (Paris, 1916).

<sup>19</sup> Glück, *op. cit.*, Pl. 44.

## A SASANIAN MONUMENT IN MEROVINGIAN FRANCE

BY RICHARD BERNHEIMER

THE SEVENTH CENTURY MARKS A GREAT ALTERATION IN FRENCH SEPULCHRAL SCULPTURE. In the preceding period Orientals had monopolized the making of decorated sarcophagi, but at this time French sculptors attempted the work, though their application and good will were greatly overshadowed by their technical insufficiency. The cultural and artistic relationship of France with the rest of the Mediterranean world, often seriously threatened in the previous two centuries, was nearly disrupted. The decoration of sarcophagi, which in the fourth century had still shown traits common to sculpture in the whole Mediterranean basin and which, in the sixth century, had passed into the hands of a small group of Oriental specialists (the aquitanic sarcophagi!), was now largely entrusted to provincial artists, who had to rely for their inspiration on local prototypes. Only a few Orientals still practiced their craft in France, and they were unable to gain an artistic following. Owing to the disruption of national economy into self-contained units of production the artists were largely restricted to a very narrow cultural horizon and frequently followed the ways of the humbler domestic crafts.

This helps to explain why among the stone sarcophagi from Poitou, in the baptistry of Poitiers,<sup>1</sup> many are decorated with the simplest of parallel strokes (*Fig. 1*), with herringbone ornaments, and with designs reminiscent of fingerprints. The Mediterranean tradition seems to have been lost and replaced by a rhythmical exploitation of technical necessities, similar to the technique of the neolithic potter. In fact Merovingian potteries from Poitou (*Fig. 2*) show so marked a similarity to some of the sarcophagi from the same region that the dependence of the sculptural art on the lower domestic craft seems to be well established. Among the sarcophagi from Paris now in the Musée Carnavalet and in the Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye,<sup>2</sup> which must definitely be dated seventh century, some show preference for herringbone ornaments, while most are reminiscent of the art of the goldsmith. Although only the cover is decorated on the sarcophagi from Poitou, the coffins from the Île de France, which are cast in plaster, exhibit mostly a decorated front. There is a concentric figure set in the middle of this front (*Fig. 3*), consisting sometimes of the cross or the monogram, sometimes only of a circle and a host of narrow irregular lines inscribed in it—the round outline of the Merovingian brooches (*Fig. 4*), the interior of which is divided by golden fillets framing the inlay of precious stones. The artist has recurred, in his search for forms, to a monumentalization of the industrial arts.

If one considers the backward, even primitive, character of these works, it is not hard to understand why French archaeologists should have insisted on assigning to the sculptures in the crypt of Jouarre a date later than the seventh century. These sculptures seemed to be so

<sup>1</sup> Photographs in the archives of the Institute of the History of Art in Marburg, Germany.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, "Montmartre,"

*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, XI (Paris, 1934), No. 2, 2683, and the literature indicated therein.



far superior to the awkwardness, the childish stammering, of the average seventh-century sculptor in France, that it seemed hardly conceivable that so well-balanced an art should be contemporary with the clumsiest incompetence.

The monastery of Jouarre,<sup>3</sup> situated between Paris and Château-Thierry, was founded shortly before 634 by Adon, the treasurer of King Dagobert. It was originally intended to be a double monastery inhabited by men as well as women and governed by the rule of St. Columban. In the ninth century it was converted into a nunnery. Of the original buildings from the first part of the seventh century only the so-called crypt of St. Paul survives, which was the substructure below the sanctuary of a church now destroyed. About 840 it was restored and widened by an annex, the crypt of St. Ebregisil. A second alteration was undertaken in the eleventh century, in the course of which the original flat ceiling of the crypt was removed and replaced by a series of groin vaults, and the sarcophagi of the founders, now worshiped as saints, were put on a high balustrade.

The nave of the church was used at an early date as a burying place, and excavations undertaken about 1870 showed that some fifty-nine coffins had been sunk beneath the floor of the church.<sup>4</sup> They were simple containers for the corpses, the older coffins of stone, the more recent molded in stucco, exactly like the Merovingian ones from Paris. Thin grooves had been incised in the forms (*Fig. 3*) which, when cast, came out in the stucco as narrow and sharply defined elevations.

In contrast to these anonymous burials the sarcophagi, with which we are mainly concerned, were placed in the crypt of St. Paul, which seems to have been originally used as a memorial to the powerful clan of its founder. Adon himself was interred in a simple undecorated stone coffin with a gabled roof. St. Aguilbert, Bishop of Paris (d. 672), and the first abbesses of Jouarre, his sister, St. Theodechilde (d. 655), and St. Aguilberta (d. 665), her follower, were buried in the crypt, as were also three other women, St. Ozanne, St. Balde, and the beatified Mode. With the exception of the shrine of St. Aguilbert all of these sarcophagi are now placed on a continuous postament, that runs the whole length of the crypt. It must be noted that not all the shrines exhibit the signs of early craftsmanship, for the sarcophagus of St. Ozanne, as is witnessed by its tomb figure, was erected about 1300, and the shrine of Mode is modern. Of the other tombs only that of St. Aguilbert has hitherto attracted the interest of scholars,<sup>5</sup> since, unlike most sculpture of Merovingian times, it shows an elaborate figural composition. I do not intend to deal with it here. It will only be emphasized that a date in the seventh century, far from being contradicted by an analysis of style, is actually postulated by it. It suffices to point out the kinship in style with the cross of Ruthwell<sup>6</sup> or to show that, in

<sup>3</sup> A short comprehensive view and a full bibliography in Cabrol and LeClercq, *op. cit.*, VII (1927), No. 2, 2689. Of earlier literature see particularly H. Thiercelin, *Le Monastère de Jouarre, son histoire jusqu'à la révolution* (Paris, 1861), and G. Réthoré, *Les Cryptes de Jouarre* (Paris, 1889).

<sup>4</sup> I have not been able to establish what has happened to these sarcophagi since the excavations.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kingsley Porter, "The Tomb of Hinkmar and Carolingian Sculpture in France," *Burlington Mag.*, L (1927), 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

portraying the figure of Christ, the artist has taken up the thread of tradition where the sculptors of Ravenna<sup>7</sup> had dropped it. The sarcophagus does not stand in its original place, since one of its sculptured faces is set against a wall. It belongs as a type to the Western school, for only the front and one side are decorated. There is no sculptured roof.

The tombs of the two abbesses, St. Theodechilde and St. Aguilberta, have the form of houses with sculptured gabled roofs, like the shrines of later goldsmiths' art. But, whereas the shrine of St. Theodechilde, which stands free, has both longitudinal sides decorated according to East-Christian tradition, the sarcophagus of St. Aguilberta, which is placed in a niche and stands against a stone wall, has only one ornamented front. Since through the erection of the stone balustrade these shrines have been removed from their original positions, and so have become cenotaphs, the traditional dates for their decorations cannot be accepted unless they are certified by considerations of style.

Now, the sarcophagus of St. Theodechilde (*Fig. 5*), with its two rows of open shells, belongs, in spite of its Latin inscription, to the Hellenistic world. As the upward form of the shell, characteristic of the West, and the downward form, familiar in Egypt and the East, are both represented, it is hard to determine the home of the artist. But it should be emphasized that there is nothing in this decoration which is incompatible with a date in the seventh century. The principles of Hellenistic art were continued into the time of the Arabic domination in Syria as well as in Egypt, and in fact an early example of Islamic monumental decoration, the mihrab of the *Djāmi' al-Khāṣakī*<sup>8</sup> in Baghdad, shows a form of the shell not very different from that used in Jouarre. The vine scrolls inscribed in circles which once enlivened the roof of the sarcophagus in Jouarre, and which are now very nearly worn off, are a well-known Hellenistic motif, of which the persistence in the East is proved by its use, shortly after 712, in the frescoes of *Ḳuṣair 'Amra*<sup>9</sup> and in the eighth century in the façade of *Mshattā*.<sup>10</sup> Vine leaves have been carved in the earliest English crosses, such as the cross of Bewcastle (about 664).<sup>11</sup> It should be mentioned that the decorations of the tomb of St. Theodechilde, like those from the grave of St. Aguilberta, are executed in plaster.

The decoration of the sarcophagus of St. Aguilberta (*Fig. 6*) consists of only one wall of plaster, which forms an angle where it projects over the coffin beneath. This arrangement seems to be due to an attempt to assimilate the form of the later shrine to the earlier one, unless, of course, it has been devised as a belated means of fitting the sarcophagus into a niche, for which it originally was not intended. It could also be argued that the decoration of St. Aguilberta's tomb, which is not of one piece with the coffin, could have been done some time after the abbess had been interred.

<sup>7</sup> A. Haseloff, *Vorromanische Plastik in Italien* (Berlin, 1930), Pl. 30.

<sup>8</sup> It dates probably from after the middle of the eighth century, the time of *Manṣūr*. See F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1920), II, p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932), I, Pl. 50.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 63.

<sup>11</sup> G. B. Brown, "The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses," *The Arts in Early England* (London, 1921), Pls. 12-13.



The front part of the decoration consists of simple fleurs-de-lis, a degenerate form of the palmette, set into lozenges to form a continuous pattern. The lozenges are bordered by a meander ornament composed of swastikas and connecting lines. The roof is covered with intersecting circles, of which the parts between sectors are cut out and given a central motif of small spherical lozenges. The astonishing preciseness of the decoration may be the result of the use of a stencil, since molds would have required larger and more definite ornamental units than those here exhibited. Only the central panel of the ornamented roof is original; the other panels have been set in during the nineteenth century to match its design.<sup>12</sup> Some time before the nineteenth century the decoration of the front panel was awkwardly restored, by reversing half of the ornaments, so that now part of the border is in the middle of the decorated plane. By exchanging the left and right portions and by turning the right one upside down the original arrangement, which consisted of one undivided plane in the middle and a border encompassing it on all sides, can be reconstructed.

The curious flatness of this decoration, as well as its equal distribution of emphasis, suggests an oriental origin even east of the ancient Hellenistic world. In fact the fleur-de-lis in diagonally arranged squares occurs in Sasanian stucco decorations from Damghan in Persia, from the neighborhood of Varāmīn in Persia, and from Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia. The decorations of Damghan (*Fig. 7*), now preserved in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, differ from those in Jouarre by being cut out much more neatly than were those in France and by evolving a richer form of the fleur-de-lis. They are on a much larger scale than those in France, and their more explicit form may be explained by this fact. The decorations from Varāmīn (*Fig. 8*), in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, agree with those of Jouarre in their flatness and in the particular proportion between the frame and the ornaments within. But instead of lozenges there are squares marked by an engraved double border line, and the palmettes, of which the side leaves point downward, have a sharp, spirited outline. The nearest parallels to the shrine decorations in Jouarre are found in Ctesiphon. If one compares one of the meander borders from the Umm Za'atir (*Fig. 9*) in Ctesiphon with the corresponding parts in Jouarre (*Fig. 10*), one will find almost an identity in design as well as in execution.<sup>13</sup> Also the fleurs-de-lis, which, in the Umm Za'atir, are inscribed in diagonally arranged meanders (*Fig. 11*),

<sup>12</sup> See the reproduction in A. de Caumont, "Notes sur les tombeaux et cryptes de Jouarre," *Bull. monumental*, 1843, p. 189.

<sup>13</sup> The swastika meander occurring in the Parthian stucco decorations of Kūh-i Khwādja in Sistān (see E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* [London, 1935], Pl. 10); and in Seleucia (see L. Waterman, *Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq* [Ann Arbor, 1933], p. 22, Fig. 6A). The stucco decorations from Sasanian buildings in Kish, Mesopotamia, recently published by Baltrušaitis contain the swastika meander (*Fig. 12*; see also J. Baltrušaitis, "Sāsānian

Stucco Ornament," *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. by A. U. Pope [London and New York, 1938], Vol. I, Fig. 181) the intersecting circles (*Fig. 13*), and also the fleurs-de-lis forming a continuous pattern (*Fig. 14*), in other words, all the motifs found in the stucco decorations of Jouarre. However, the fleurs-de-lis, broader in outline than those in Jouarre, differ from the other examples mentioned in the text by having no dividing frames. The rather sharp plasticity of the ornaments in Kish seems to set them apart from the other sets of Sasanian stucco decoration and very possibly suggests an early date.



PHOTOGRAPH: KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHES SEMINAR, MARBURG

FIG. 1—STONE SARCOPHAGUS, POITOU, MEROVINGIAN, SEVENTH CENTURY A.D., POITIERS, BAPTISTRY

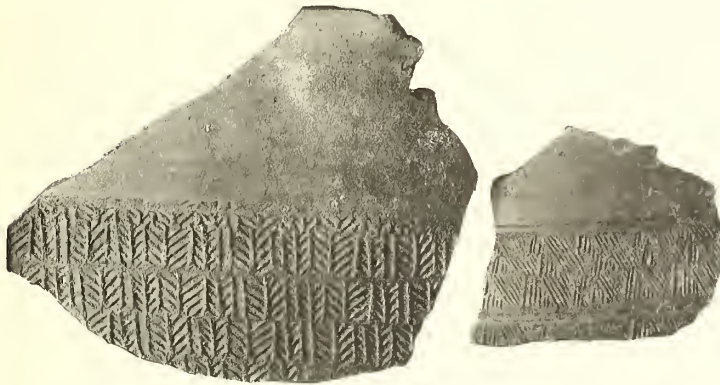


FIG. 2—FRAGMENTS OF MEROVINGIAN POTTERY, POITOU  
POITIERS, MUSÉE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE L'OUEST



FIG. 4—MEROVINGIAN BROOCH  
FROM RÜDERN  
STUTTGART, STAATLICHE  
ALTERTÜMERSAMMLUNG



PHOTOGRAPH: KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHES SEMINAR, MARBURG

FIG. 3—STUCCO SARCOPHAGUS, FRENCH, MEROVINGIAN, SEVENTH  
CENTURY A.D.  
PARIS, MUSÉE CARNAVALET





PHOTOGRAPH: GIRAUDON

FIG. 5—STUCCO SARCOPHAGUS OF THE ABBESS ST. THEODECHILDE (D. 655 A.D.)  
JOUARRE (S. ET M.), MONASTERY, CRYPT OF ST. PAUL



PHOTOGRAPH: GIRAUDON

FIG. 6—STUCCO SARCOPHAGUS OF THE ABBESS ST. AGUILBERTA (D. 665 A.D.)  
JOUARRE (S. ET M.), MONASTERY, CRYPT OF ST. PAUL





FIG. 7—STUCCO DECORATION FROM DAMGHAN  
PERSIA, SASANIAN  
PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 8—STUCCO DECORATION FROM VARĀMĪN  
PERSIA, SASANIAN  
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 9—STUCCO DECORATION FROM CTESIPHON  
MESOPOTAMIA, SASANIAN  
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 11—STUCCO DECORATIONS FROM CTESIPHON,  
MESOPOTAMIA, SASANIAN  
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 10—DETAIL, SARCOPHAGUS OF THE ABBESS ST. AGUILBERTA  
JOUARRE (S. ET M.), MONASTERY, CRYPT OF ST. PAUL

PHOTOGRAPH: GIRAUDON



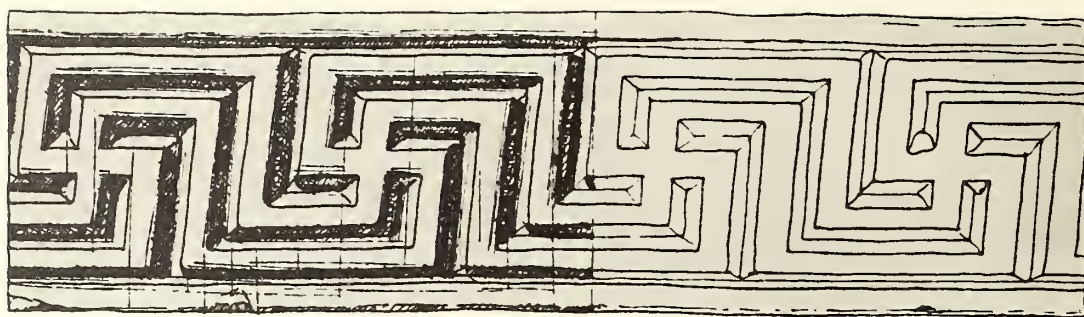


FIG. 12

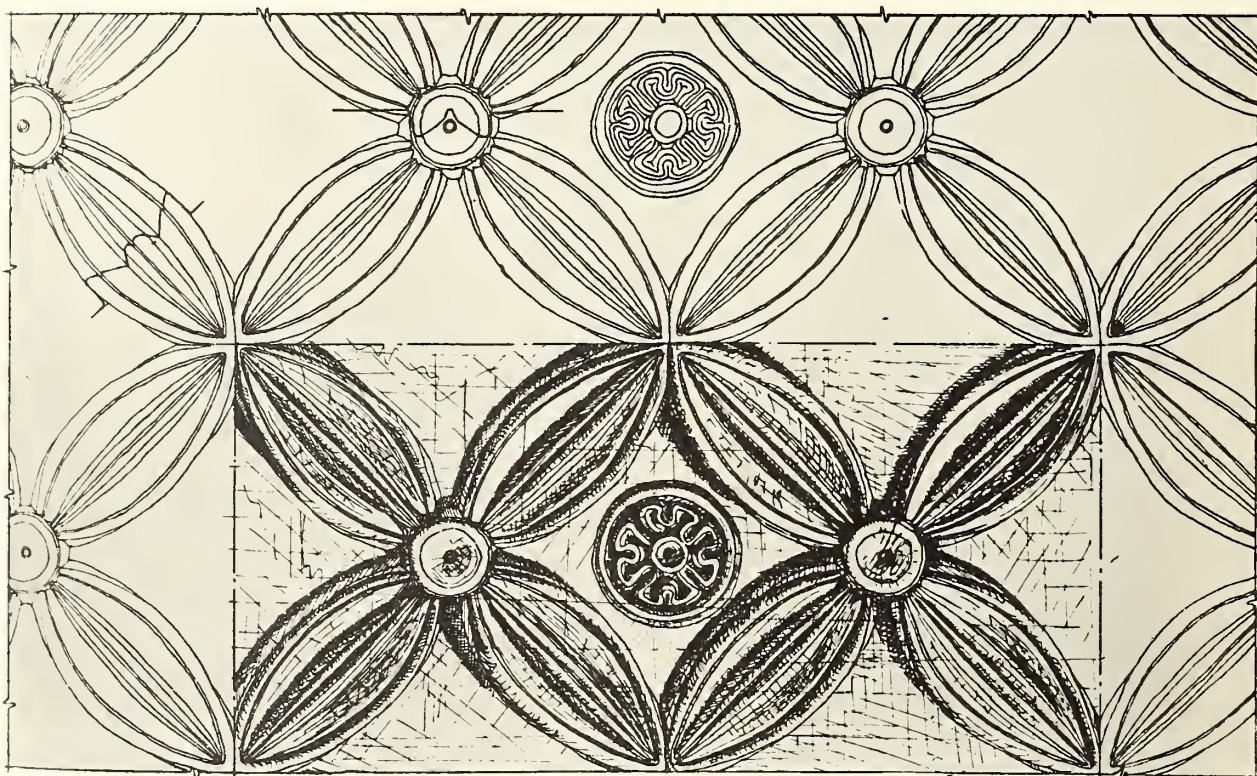


FIG. 13



FIG. 14

FROM *A Survey of Persian Art*

STUCCO DECORATIONS FROM PALACE I, KISH, MESOPOTAMIA, SASANIAN  
CHICAGO, FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY



distinguish themselves like those of Jouarre by their simple three-lobed form and by an application of the principle of oblique cutting. In fact the ornaments in Jouarre differ from those in Ctesiphon only by the use of lozenges instead of diagonal squares. The intersecting circles, a common oriental motif, are found in the stucco facings from Varāmīn and later also in the bronze covers in the Dome of the Rock (691–92).<sup>14</sup>

All in all, the similarities between Sasanian art and the decorations from the shrine of St. Aguilberta are so convincing that the latter must be regarded as a full-fledged monument of Sasanian art: this all the more, since they are executed in the same stucco material and, as it seems, by the same technical means that were employed by the Iranian artists. Since the Iranian monuments in question still show the full characteristics of pre-Islamic art—in Varāmīn even parts of a royal equestrian statue have been preserved<sup>15</sup>—we must put the erection of the shrine of St. Aguilberta as near in date as possible to the death of its owner.

The question as to how an example of oriental decoration could have found its way into the neighborhood of Paris seems at first to be all the more puzzling, since as a stucco wall fitted to its location it could not (like so many eastern pieces of silverware for example), have found its way to France by means of trade. It must have been fashioned by the artist at Jouarre. And after all this is not very strange. Since the Orientals who pursued their business in France were referred to only as Greeks, Jews, and Syrians,<sup>16</sup> many of those who came from the farther reaches of Asia must have been designated by the names of the coastal inhabitants. Under this rule the immigrants from Mesopotamia or Persia would be classified with the Syrians, of whom many were known to be living on French soil. In the fifth century, according to St. Gregor,<sup>17</sup> a stranger called Abraham emigrated from the Sasanian empire, where he had been persecuted for his Christian creed, and traveled from the borders of the Euphrates to far-away Clermont-Ferrand in Auvergne, where he was the first to introduce the eastern forms of monasticism. The case of this pious emigrant cannot have been the only one, and in fact we are informed,<sup>18</sup> that in the seventh century a noblewoman "from the borders of Syria" came to Paris and soon was made abbess of a monastery. Since only those immigrants would be recorded who played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical life of the country, it can safely be assumed that many less outstanding foreigners passed unheeded.

<sup>14</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 27. See also the illustration of the stone decorations of 661 in San Juan de Baños which are under Sasanian influence: A. Haupt, *Die älteste Kunst, insbesondere die Baukunst der Germanen* (Berlin, 1923), p. 202, Fig. 123. The motif occurs as early as the first century in the stucco facings of the Kūh-i Khwādja (see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10), and in the contemporary decorations in Assur (see W. Andrae, *Die Partherstadt Assur* [Leipzig, 1933], Pls. 15, 17, 20a, 20g, 34).

<sup>15</sup> F. Sarre, "Figürlicher und ornamentaler Wand-schmuck spätsasanidischer Zeit," *Berliner Museen*, 1928, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> See the enumeration of the population of Narbonne in the canons of the council of Narbonne (589), ed. by G. O. Mansi, *Sacror. concilior. nova et amplissima collectio*, IX (Florence, 1759–67), 1015, 1017. The immigration of Orientals into France has been dealt with by L. Bréhier ("Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen age," *Byzantinische Zeitschr.*, XII [1903], 33) and by J. Ebersolt (*Orient et Occident* [Paris, 1928], pp. 26 ff.).

<sup>17</sup> Gregoire de Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 2, 21, 22; *Vitae patrum*, 3; Apolinarius Sidonius, *Epistolae*, 7, 17.

<sup>18</sup> Passionale Bodecesne. *Acta Sanctorum*, 4, Oct. 2, p. 475.



With regard to the maker of the shrine at Jouarre, it seems to be significant—and perhaps this applies also to the artist of the grave of St. Theodechilde—that he should have been available a few decades after the Muhammadan conquest. In 637 the Arabs won the battle of Kādisiya, which opened to them the plains of Mesopotamia; in 642, through the battle of Nihāvand, they forced their way into Persia. Supposing that our artist was a political emigrant, it would not be difficult to understand the inducement for his expatriation: for all its friendly attitude towards the religion and art of the conquered people, the first impact of Islam upon Syria and Mesopotamia must have had a paralyzing effect upon cultural life. Defeat, disorder, and reconstruction cannot have failed to create a feeling of great discomfort which was increased by the extra weight of taxes imposed upon all the subjected races. For the Christian artisan there would not be the recompense of participating in the great architectural enterprises of his Arabic overlords, for it was only towards the end of the seventh century that the Arabs embarked on large artistic undertakings. During the earliest period of expansion they were too fully occupied with the problem of changing from a migratory to a more sedentary life to set their minds at competing with the splendors of Syrian and Persian civilization. In the early decades of Islam the Arabs often were satisfied with adjusting Christian churches to the purpose of their cult,<sup>19</sup> and, in the newly founded cities, where they were compelled to provide for palaces and mosques, they either pilfered the material from other sites<sup>20</sup> or set up the simplest of makeshift constructions.<sup>21</sup> Foreign visitors commented on the rudeness of these buildings<sup>22</sup>—a Greek envoy, in the middle of the seventh century, remarked of the newly erected palace of the governor in Damascus, that its upper part might have been fitted for birds, the lower for rats.<sup>23</sup> It was only in 670, probably after the sculptor of Jouarre had left his native abode, that, according to Ṭabarī,<sup>24</sup> a Persian architect was employed for a major architectural project. Previously only financial and practical help had been required from some of the great Persian landowners.<sup>25</sup> Since, in this time of stress, the artistic undertakings of the subjected people can have been but of the most modest nature, many of the suppressed artisans must have lived in great distress. No wonder that their irritation resulted in an act of despair: in 643 a Christian slave from Nihāvand in Persia, after having been

<sup>19</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 12, from Balādhurī, Hitti's translation, pp. 201, 236; and *ibid.*, p. 14, from Muḳaddasī, p. 463. The transformation of churches into mosques is reported in Damascus and Aleppo. In Iṣṭakhr an ancient Persian hall similar to that in the palace of Persepolis was converted into a mosque.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16, from Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 444, concerning the earliest mosque in Kufa and the adjoining palace.

<sup>21</sup> Earliest mosque in Basra, Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 15, from Balādhurī.

<sup>22</sup> See Arculf's description in his *Relatio de Locis*

*Sanctis* (ed. P. Geyer, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana* [Vienna, 1898], pp. 226–27) of the earliest mosque in Jerusalem, which he saw in 670.

<sup>23</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 31, from Ibn Shākir, Sauvage's translation.

<sup>24</sup> The building in question was the reconstructed mosque of Kufa from 670, for which "one of the builders of Choesroes" gave his technical and probably also his artistic advice. See Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 36, from Ṭabarī, I, 2492, l. 8–15.

<sup>25</sup> This has been the case at the building of the first palace in Kufa (see Ṭabarī).

admitted to Medina as a carpenter, designer, and smith, murdered the caliph, 'Umar, as a vengeance for the taxes imposed upon him—he had been assessed for every one of his skills.<sup>26</sup>

The work in Jouarre gains particular importance by being the only example of Sasanian stucco decoration that is dated, even if this date is merely a *terminus post quem*. All the other Sasanian stuccos can be dated only by inference, either by their similarity with the sculptures at Ṭāk-i Bustān executed under Khusraw II (590–628) or by the general progress toward Islamic abstraction and stylization<sup>27</sup> that is visible in them. By using such means of identification, the sculptures of Varāmīn have been recognized as belonging to the latest phase of Sasanian art,<sup>28</sup> and the same result has been obtained in the preliminary analysis of the Umm Za'atir<sup>29</sup> (circa 600, perhaps even of early Umayyad time). These tentative results are fully borne out by the newly discovered Sasanian monument in France, which, because of the detail of its ornamentation, must be regarded as coming from the Mesopotamian school of decorators. In my opinion the decorations in Jouarre are the latest of known Sasanian stucco facings, since in them the square units usual in Sasanian ornament have been replaced by the more elongated form of the lozenge: the same vertical elongation of the square can be observed in the frescoes of Kuṣair 'Amra (after 712),<sup>30</sup> and it underlies most of the ornaments of Samarra.<sup>31</sup> Very near in date to the sculptures in Jouarre are the stucco facings from the Umm Za'atir in Ctesiphon, which must be definitely set in the seventh century. It would be hazardous to date the two Persian sites from evidence taken from the Mesopotamian school, but if an assumption may be ventured, a date in the seventh century should be suggested for Varāmīn, whereas the decorations of Damghan may go back into an earlier time.

The shrine of St. Aguilberta in Jouarre is among the earliest pieces of stucco sculpture in medieval Europe. Only the stucco ornaments in the archivolts of St. Vitale<sup>32</sup> in Ravenna precede it, for, if feelings of style can be trusted at all, the sculptures of the baptistry of Ravenna<sup>33</sup> are much later than the structure which they serve to adorn. If anything, the stuccos from Jouarre seem to show that the wave of sculpture in plaster which swept over Europe in the late centuries of the first millenium came early and that it originated in Asiatic lands. The artist of Jouarre was followed by other immigrants, one of whom created in the eighth century the famous sculptures of Cividale. The stucco technique was adopted by native artists who dis-

<sup>26</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* . . . , translated by C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courtville (Paris, 1861–77); *Tanbih*, translated by B. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1897), p. 378; Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, translated by A. S. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906), I, 99–100.

<sup>27</sup> There is circumstantial evidence that the stuccos in Kish were executed in the fourth century, an early date somewhat borne out by their stylistic peculiarities. This is the date proposed by Dr. Richard A. Martin, in charge of the stuccos from Kish in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. See also S. Langdon, "Excavations

at Kish and Barghuthiat," *Iraq*, I (1934), 114 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der 2. Ktesiphon-Expedition 1931–32* (Berlin, 1933), p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 49.

<sup>31</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten in Samarra* (Berlin, 1923), particularly Pl. 45.

<sup>32</sup> H. Peirce and R. Taylor, *L'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1934), II, Pls. 92–93.

<sup>33</sup> Haseloff, *op. cit.*, Pl. 28.



played their skill at Dissentis and Mals<sup>34</sup> (ninth century) and later in Civate<sup>35</sup> and on the ciborium of St. Ambrogio in Milan.<sup>36</sup> What part Byzantium played in the transmission of the technique, which had been known to the Romans, is as yet impossible to determine. But the case of Jouarre serves as a testimony that the more eastern provinces of Christianity did not fail to contribute to the formation of European sculpture, and we may gather from the discovery in Ctesiphon<sup>37</sup> of a stucco figure of a Christian saint that this influence was not restricted to the ornamental field.

Perhaps also the technique of molding in stucco, which occurs so often in the sarcophagi of Merovingian France, was originally derived from the Orient, since it is found in Sasanian monumental decoration in Ctesiphon and later in the walls of Samarra. As the molded sarcophagi below the nave of Jouarre are later than those made of stone, which cannot antedate the foundation of the monastery, the introduction of this technique must be put into the seventh century.

<sup>34</sup> M. Garber, *Die karolingische St. Benediktkirche in Mals* (Innsbruck, 1915), Pls. 12-23, and p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> F. Toesca, *Storia del arte italiana* (Turino, 1927), I, Fig. 492.

<sup>36</sup> Haseloff, *op. cit.*, Pls. 73, 74; see also J. Shapley,

"The Stuccos of San Vitale," *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* (Vienna, 1923), pp. 19-32.

<sup>37</sup> O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928/1929* (Berlin, 1930), Fig. 6.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1917-37

## BY HENRY FIELD AND EUGENE PROSTOV

DURING THE PAST TWENTY YEARS SOVIET ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE CONDUCTED WIDESPREAD investigations throughout that area of Central Asia which lies within the boundaries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Because of the language barrier and the added difficulty of obtaining accurate information on this important territory, American and European scholars have gleaned but little of the information obtained by Soviet expeditions. Since 1933 brief summaries of archaeological research throughout the Soviet Union,<sup>1</sup> particularly in Turkestan, in the Uzbek S.S.R., Kazak S.S.R., Tajik S.S.R., and Turkomen S.S.R., have been published. Since our reports have evoked considerable interest, we requested more detailed information from archaeologists engaged in research and exploration in Central Asia. In reply<sup>2</sup> to our requests M. V. Voevodskii forwarded a report on pre-Muslim sites and A. I. Terenozhkin sent a summary of excavations at medieval sites. These two reports, together with data from other Soviet sources, present a summary of archaeological investigations in the republics of Central Asia from 1917 to 1937.

Prior to the October Revolution some excavations had been conducted at Afrāsiyāb, Old Merv, and Termez (Tirmidh), and at Anau (Anaw), by Pumpelly. According to Voevodskii there has been increased activity in this area during the past few years, under the direction of UZKOMSTARIS,<sup>3</sup> the Kirghiz Scientific Research Institute in Frunze (formerly Pishpek), local museums, and central organizations such as IAE, GAIMK, IIMK, and MOGAIMK.

<sup>1</sup> H. Field and E. Prostov, "Recent Archaeological Investigations in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.*, n.s., XXXVIII (1936), No. 2, 260-90, and map; "Archaeology in the Soviet Union," *ibid.*, XXXIX (1937), No. 3, 457-90; "Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.," *ibid.*, XXXX (1938), No. 4, 671-75; "Recent Archaeological Discoveries throughout the Soviet Union," *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, XLI (1937), No. 4, 618-20; *ibid.*, XLII (1938), No. 1, 146-47; "The Oriental Institute Archaeological Report on the Near East, U.S.S.R.," *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, LII (1936), No. 2, 138-41; *ibid.*, LIII (1937), No. 4, 275-76; and *ibid.*, LV (1938), No. 1, 109-12.

E. A. Golomshtock, "Anthropological Activities in Soviet Russia," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XXXV (1933), 301-27; and "The Old Stone Age in European Russia," *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, n.s., XXIX (1938), Pt. 11, 189-468.

A. M. Tallgren, "Archaeological Studies in Soviet Russia," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* [Journ. East European and North-Asiatic Archaeol. and Ethnol., publ. by Archaeol. Soc. of Finland, Helsinki], X (1936), 129-70; and "The South Siberian Cemetery of Oglakty from

the Han Period," *ibid.*, XI (1937), 69-90.

<sup>2</sup> In a private communication in English, dated September 10, 1937, from UZKOMSTARIS through VOKS.

<sup>3</sup> The following abbreviations have been used:

IAE = *Institut Antropologii i Etnografii* ("Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography of the State Academy of Sciences, Leningrad").

GAIMK = *Gosudarstvennaia Akademiia Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* ("State Academy for the History of Material Culture, Leningrad"). Succeeded by IIMK.

IIMK = *Institut Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury, Akademii Nauk* ("Historical Institute of Material Culture of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Leningrad"). Since the summer of 1937; formerly GAIMK.

MOGAIMK = *Moskovskoe otделение Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* ("Moscow Department of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture").

SREDAZKOMSTARIS = *Sredneaziatskii Komitet po Delam Muzeev i Okhrany Pamiatnikov Stariny, Iskusstva*



## PRE-MUSLIM SITES

No paleolithic stations have been established. The oldest sites, containing microliths, are scattered over wide areas: the northern coast of the Aral Sea, the sands along the lower reaches of the Sir Darya, and restricted areas of the Kara Kum and Kizil Kum deserts. The implements, usually found on the shores of small lakes or near the banks of the old river beds on the lower reaches of large rivers, belong to different periods, ending with the Bronze Age.

In 1921 Marushchenko found between Kazalinsk and Perovsk on the Sir Darya primitive hunting settlements with microliths, including leaf-shaped arrowheads, discoidal trowels, and pottery fragments of Bronze Age types.

Objects similar to those from Anau have been found in mounds on the northern foothills of Kopet-Dāgh, generally where streams emerge from gorges. Of special interest are the mounds of Namāz-Gāh Tappa, near Kahka, and Aḵ Tappa, 6 kilometers from Ashkhabad. At the former D. D. Bukinich found pottery, not only of Anau II and III types but also of additional shapes and ornamentations (*Fig. 1*). The mound of Aḵ Tappa, 18 meters high, was excavated in 1929 by Voevodskii and M. P. Grīāznov. At the edges of the mound the only material found was similar to that from the lowest level at Anau (*Fig. 2*). The mound itself was found to be composed of strata dating from a much later period. In the upper levels, beneath Muslim deposits, were large quantities of dark gray pottery (*Fig. 3*) with a smoothly polished surface, decorated with a very complex design drawn with a sharp point.

During a visit to Anau in 1928 Voevodskii discovered in the wall of the trench made by the Pumpelly Expedition the remains of a building, a large part of which had been destroyed by the trench. There remained only a small part of two rooms, with walls of large unbaked bricks, faced on the inside with clay molding. The lower part of the walls was faced with fragments of a large clay vessel which, when restored, proved to be typical of the Anau complex. This thin spherical vessel had a red slip with a polished surface. The floors of both rooms were closely paved with small pebbles.

The remains of similar agricultural settlements were discovered in the northeastern part of Farghāna Valley, in the basin of the Zarafshān River, and in other parts of Central Asia. During the past decade a large number of sites have been discovered, dating from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. to the Arab conquest.

Until recent times our knowledge of the archaeology of this period depended entirely on

*i Prirody* ("Central Asian Committee for Museum Affairs and for Preservation of Monuments of Antiquity, Art, and Nature, Samarkand"). Formerly TURKMENSTARIS. TURKMENKULT = *Institut Turkmenskoi Kul'tury* ("Institute of Turkomen Culture, Ashkhabad").

UZKOMSTARIS = *Uzbekistanskii Komitet po Okhrane Pamiātnikov Stariny i Iskustva* ("Uzbekistan Committee for the Preservation of Monuments of Antiquity and Art"), currently known as *Uzbekistanskii Komitet po Okhrane i Izucheniiu Pamiātnikov Material'noi Kul'tury*

("Uzbekistan Committee for the Preservation and Study of Monuments of Material Culture, Tashkent").

VOKS = *Vsesoiūznoe Obshchestvo Kul'turnykh Snoshe-nii* ("All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Moscow").

Under the supervision of Eugene Prostov the Congressional Library system of transliteration has been used, with minor modifications, for all proper nouns in Russian.

the magnificent Amu-Darya collection, which lacks documentation as to exact provenance, and on many isolated discoveries of artistic earthen and metal vessels, ossuaries, and ritualistic objects scattered throughout the local and central museums. The majority of these objects were found by chance, and no stratigraphic information was available.

Among the numerous and important investigations carried out by TURKMENKULT was the excavation of Nessa (Nasā),<sup>4</sup> one of the residences of the Parthian emperors. As a result of work done during several years under the supervision of Marushchenko and Ershov, the ruins of a palace-like building and of a number of other edifices were disclosed. In addi-

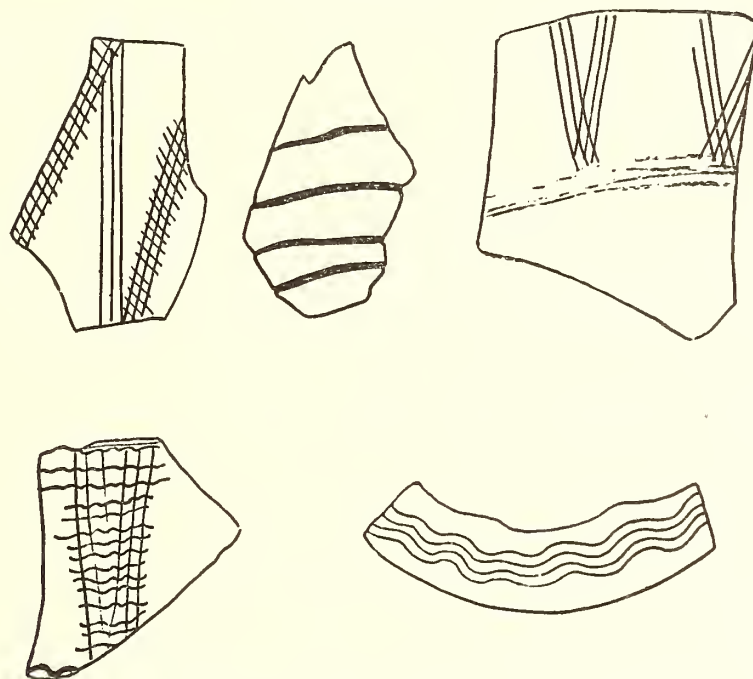


FIG. 3—DARK GRAY INCISED POTSDERDS FROM UPPER LEVELS  
OF AĞ TAPPA NEAR ASHKHABAD

tion to many architectural fragments and pottery, there were large painted sculptures in clay, and other art objects, which give us for the first time an idea of the Parthian civilization in the Turkomen S. S. R.

Voevodskii describes the Greco-Buddhist sculptured cornice (*Fig. 4*), a fragment of which was found in 1932<sup>5</sup> near Airtam, 13 kilometers west of Termez, in the Turkomen S. S. R.

<sup>4</sup> At Bagir, west of Ashkhabad, capital of the Turkomen S. S. R. Anau is 13 kilometers south of Ashkhabad.

<sup>5</sup> See M. E. Masson, "Nakhodka fragmenta skul'pturnogo karniza pervykh vekov n.e." [The Finding of a Fragment of a Sculptured Cornice of the First Centuries

of the Christian Era"], *Materialy, UZKOMSTARIS* (Tashkent, 1933), No. 1; and H. Field and E. Prostov, "Archaeology in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XXXII (1937), No. 3, 475-76.



Since that time a large number of fragments of this cornice have been discovered by an UZKOMSTARIS Expedition (M. E. Masson, leader).

On the high ground of Genghis Tappa the ruins of Sasanian dwellings were found, as well as many architectural remains of great artistic value. Numerous articles of general use were unearthed. The excavations also disclosed a large building of the palace type, dating from the eleventh or twelfth century. Valuable material was also obtained at Afrāsiyāb, near Samarkand. From the collections and excavations of the late V. L. Viātkin there are at Samarkand a large number of relics of pre-Muslim times, the most valuable being fragments of ossuaries and many clay sculptures.

In connection with the widespread work of irrigation which is being carried out on the Central Asiatic steppes, research into the history of irrigation has been started in many places. Archaeological investigations in 1930 and in 1933 on the river Naryn in the southeastern part of the Farghāna Valley were part of this work. During these investigations many tappas, ruins of small fortified villages, and numerous smaller archaeological relics were found. This was the first time any excavations had been carried out in the Farghāna Valley. Among other evidences of early civilization were the remains of a number of ancient irrigation canals, also dating from pre-Muslim times. Many of these had been abandoned, and the territory had thus become arid desert plain. Only recently, after an interval of a thousand years, has irrigation been renewed.

The investigation yielded material from three periods:

1. The first period is fixed provisionally by Voevodskiĭ during the second millennium B.C. The remains of an early agricultural civilization, discovered at two sites, had great similarities to those of the middle levels of Anau I. Owing to the small extent of the excavations, the character of the settlements themselves was not studied, but the pottery was found to consist of fragments of earthen vessels made without the use of a potter's wheel and baked in a primitive fashion. The porous clay was mixed with vegetable remains. The vessels, covered with a reddish layer, were sometimes colored with red bands, sometimes polished.

2. The second period, dating to the end of the second or the beginning of the first millennium B.C., was represented by many tappas. Advance in agricultural development was indicated by small artificial irrigation systems, water being derived from seasonal mountain streams, small rivers, or brooks. Numerous bones of domesticated animals, such as *Bos taurus*, *Equus caballus*, *Capra hircus*, and *Ovis aries*, indicated that animal breeding was highly developed.

3. The third period, dating to the first half of the first millennium A.D., was marked by further agricultural development. The remains of settlements were surrounded by earthen walls with towers. Wheel-made, well-fired pottery was found. The clay was mixed with fine sand. The vessels were covered with a red, burnished slip, and were richly ornamented with wavy lines, spirals, and triangles, drawn with a fine point. There were numerous stone querns and other household articles.

During 1929 and 1930, near the town of Pskent, an expedition of UZKOMSTARIS under the direction of Voevodskiĭ and A. A. Potapov investigated a burial mound dating from the

fifth to the eighth century A.D. Among several hundred tumuli, twelve burials were unearthed, some in the form of underground tombs of clay or unbaked brick, others in the form of vaults, with long dromi (*Fig. 5*). The chambers, 4 to 5 meters square, contained many supine or flexed skeletons with numerous adornments, including beads and household utensils. This is the first time that a burial ground of this type has been found in Central Asia.

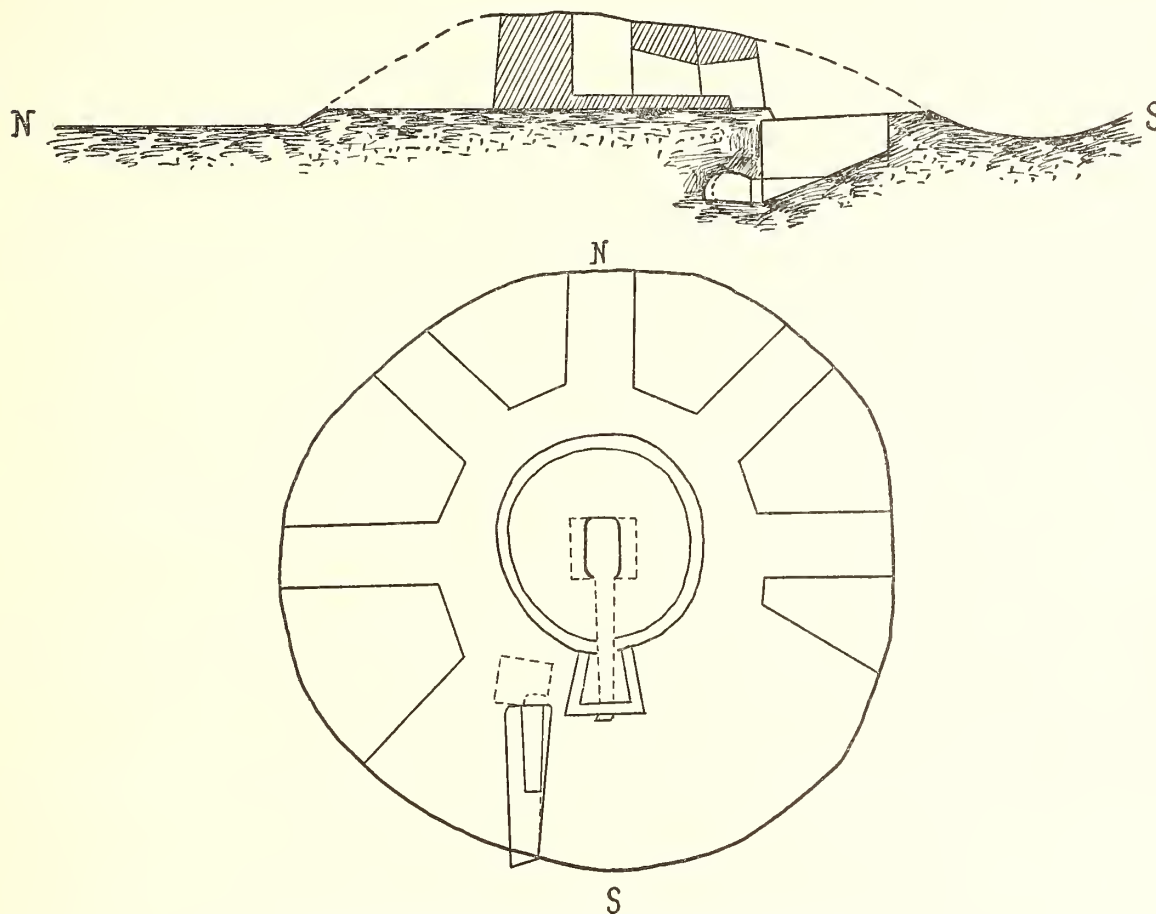


FIG. 5—SECTION AND PLAN OF TUMULUS NEAR PSKENT

In grave furniture this cemetery resembled others of the contemporaneous Saltov type occurring in the eastern Ukraine and in the Caucasus.

During 1928 and 1929 expeditions of UZKOMSTARIS and the Kirghiz Scientific Research Institute under Voevodskiĭ, assisted by Grĭaznov, Terenozhkin, and others, carried out an investigation of the Chu Valley and the northern part of Issyk-Kul and found culture sequences from the Bronze Age to the period of late feudalism (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). About seventy archaeological sites were examined.

The most valuable results were obtained in barrows at Burana, near Tokmak in the Chu



Valley, and near Kara-Kul, on the northern shore of Issyk-Kul. The group of barrows investigated were family tombs, consisting in general of many large tumuli arranged in a line from north to south. The barrows in some groups attained a height of 5 to 7 meters and a diameter of 70 to 80 meters. Under the tumuli were large burial pits, sometimes beneath a flooring of stout boards. Each tomb was surrounded by a ring of large stones in the form of a wall, sometimes as much as 1 meter in height (*Figs. 6 and 7*). Under the mounds there were one to three graves, arranged in a single row from north to south. Although they showed signs of having been despoiled in ancient times, valuable objects were salvaged from them. The grave furniture included numerous small, extremely thin leaves of gold, apparently used as dress ornaments; golden and bronze cylindrical beads for necklaces; fragments of small, wooden Chinese cups covered with a red varnish; and many clay vessels.

In two barrows near Burana rich gold ornaments were found, including golden seals, one with the image of a deer and the other with that of a dragon, two gold plaques with magnifi-

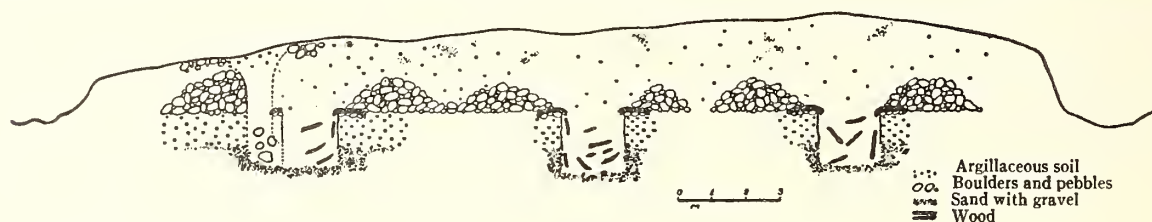


FIG. 6—CROSS SECTION OF KURGAN I NEAR KARA-KUL

cent reliefs of a human head, and one plaque with the stylized head of a cat. Judged from the style of the molding on the plaques they may be regarded as Bactrian work. Triple-edged iron arrowheads were also unearthed, and in one barrow there were broken pieces of a broad, two-edged sword.

The presence of a quantity of artistic gold ornaments, of articles brought from distant countries, such as Chinese lacquered vessels, and of arms, as well as the complexity and size of the tombs, indicated that the richer members of the community were buried in these barrows. They may be assigned to a period between the first century B.C. and the end of the first century A.D. In all probability they belonged to the Wu-sun people who, according to Chinese sources, occupied at that time a considerable portion of the territory now belonging to the Kirghiz S. S. R.<sup>5a</sup>

At Chilpek, near Kara-Kul, Voevodskiĭ investigated a burial ground of the same period, which undoubtedly belonged to the people who constructed the barrows just described, although it differed from these in a number of ways. This cemetery, occupying an area of several hectares, was covered with many low, often imperceptible, mounds, ranging from 50 to 80 centimeters in height. Under each mound there was a single grave, which was surrounded, as

<sup>5a</sup> Cf. W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939).

in the case of the large barrows, by small rings of little stones. The few articles consisted of small earthen pots, of rougher workmanship than those found in the other barrows, plain wooden dishes or cups, and a few bronze objects, including a mirror with a short handle ending in a griffin's head, and a hairpin with the figure of a bird. Neither gold nor Chinese lacquer articles nor weapons were found in these graves. It may be supposed that the burying ground at Chilpek was for the lower ranks of the same Wu-sun people whose wealthy masters were buried at Kara-Kul and Burana. The objects found in these barrows and the manner of burial

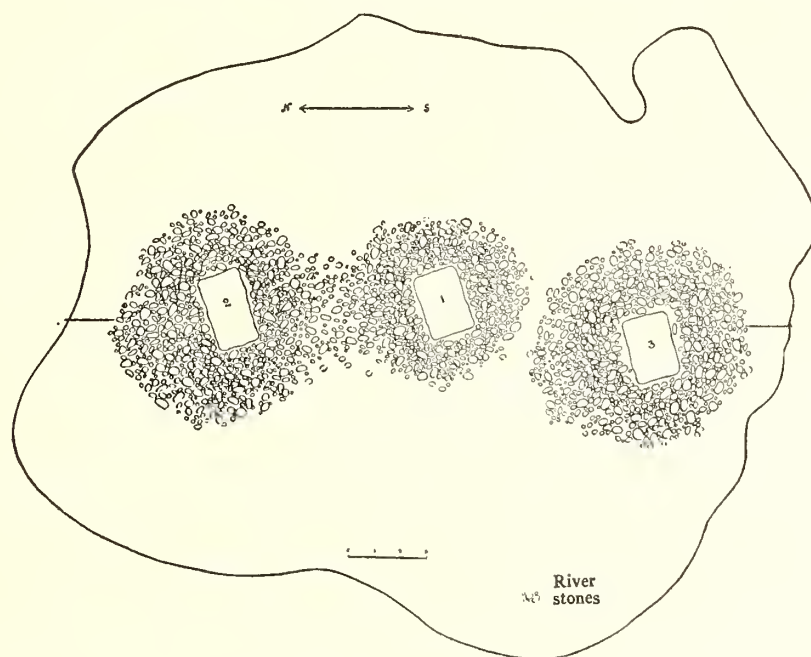


FIG. 7—PLAN OF KURGAN I NEAR KARA-KUL

were very similar to those in the tumuli of the Han epoch investigated in the Altai by the Kozlov, Griāznov, and Kiselev expeditions.

The skulls obtained from the burial grounds of the Chu Valley and the northern shore of Issyk-Kul were studied by T. A. Trofimova and classed as belonging to the Pamir-Farghāna type, in contradistinction to the former hypothesis that the Wu-sun people belonged to the Nordic type. Relics of the Bronze Age similar to those of the Andronovo culture in western Siberia and Kazak S. S. R. were also found in the Chu Valley.

In 1923 silver vessels were found by chance in a tumulus at Pokrovskoe by inhabitants of the locality. These finds, which consisted of a jug, a cup, and a dish, would also seem to belong to the Wu-sun people. The handles of the jug and of the goblet were ornamented with whorls. There was also an antique head on the handle of the cup.

Excavations were also carried out on the ruins of a large town near Krasnā Rechka on



the Chu River. The ruins were evidently those of the ancient town of Sūyāb, which was well known to al-Muḳaddasī, al-Iṣṭakhrī, and others.

While following the walls of the citadel under strata attributed to the tenth to fourteenth centuries, red, polished, unglazed pottery, dating from the fifth and eighth centuries, was unearthed. On the same site part of a city necropolis and the remains of a small suburban house of the eleventh or twelfth century were disclosed. The walls of this building were covered inside with magnificent carving and fresco work. Several ossuaries were found. Fragments of ossuaries were also discovered close to the hydroelectric station near Alamedin, about 12 kilometers from Frunze, where similar finds had been made in 1922 (*Fig. 8*). Academician W. Barthold attributed great importance to the first discovery made here in 1922, as he took it to confirm the ancient records of the existence of a Sogdian colony at Semirech'e. Excavation from 1928 to 1930 of other ossuaries at Alamedin and of red, polished pottery in the earliest levels at Krasnaġa Rechka gave further support to this view. Ossuaries have since been found at Pokrovka (Pokrovskoe?), in the neighborhood of Frunze, near Tashkent, and at Khwarazm (Khiva) in the Kara-Kalpak A. S. S. R.

Among important new inscriptions are the Sogdian documents found on Mount Mugh, near Khairābād in the upper Zarafshān Valley in the Tajik S. S. R. (see p. 256) and ancient Turkish inscriptions excavated at other sites in the Kirghiz S. S. R.

#### MEDIEVAL SITES

The following is a detailed summary of Terenozhkin's report<sup>6</sup> on work conducted from 1917 to 1937.

In Central Asia there are many archaeological sites in the river valleys, in the mountains, and among the desert sands—ruins of ancient towns, remains of large and small agricultural settlements, fortresses, towers, burial grounds, and isolated mausoleums. The majority of these sites belong to the historical period of Central Asia, which began with the Arab conquest in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. The first study of the archaeological remains of Central Asia followed the Russian conquest in the middle of the nineteenth century. Later came the Turkestan Amateur Archaeological Society, which was the only organization of its kind throughout this vast territory. At that time extremely primitive methods, amounting to little more than treasure hunting, were employed. General Komarov, while searching for the tomb of Alexander the Great, dug a trench through the famous Anau mound, and the Turkestan Amateur Archaeological Society carried out similarly ruthless excavations for two years on the Shāsh Tappa ruins, near Tashkent, employing a squad of sappers who honeycombed the base of the mound with narrow, treasure-hunting passages.

Archaeological research in Central Asia has recently undergone a radical change. All investigations are now under the supervision of scientific research institutes, local branches of

<sup>6</sup> In a private communication in English, dated September 10, 1937, from UZKOMSTARIS through VOKS.

the Academy of Sciences, committees for the preservation of ancient monuments and art relics, and numerous local historical museums, the number of which is increasing year by year. The scientific research institutes of Moscow (MOGAIMK) and Leningrad (IAE and IIMK) take an active part in the archaeological work of local organizations.

Central Asiatic mosques, minarets, madrasas, and mausoleums (*mazārs*) occupy an important place in the history of world architecture. In recent years work has been undertaken for the restoration and repair of such ancient architectural remains. As a direct result of this work great progress has been made in the study of Central Asiatic architecture.<sup>7</sup>

We shall describe here in the following order archaeological investigations carried out in: (1) the Uzbek S. S. R.;<sup>8</sup> (2) the Tajik S. S. R.; (3) the Turkomen S. S. R.; and (4) the southern part of the Kazak S. S. R. and the northern part of the Kirghiz S. S. R.

#### UZBEK S. S. R.

The most important archaeological undertaking in Uzbekistan was the investigation of the ruins of *Afrāsiyāb*. In 1920, during a study of the foundations of the madrasa *Mīrzā Ulugh Beg* on the *Rīgistān* of Samarkand, *Vīātkin* concluded, on the evidence of the relics found there, that Samarkand remained uninhabited until the end of the fourteenth century. Barthold observes, however, that *Vīātkin's* conclusions are insufficiently supported by facts and refers to the statements of Arab geographers that this town had a large population as early as the tenth century.<sup>9</sup>

In 1921, in the *Čahār-Bāgh* park not far from the *Shāh-Zinda* mausoleum, M. E. Masson found at a depth of 2 meters the skeleton of an elephant in a pit, covered with fifteenth- to sixteenth-century masonry fragments. This might well have been one of the ninety-five elephants brought back by Timur from his Indian expedition in 1399 A.D., or it might have belonged to Khwarazm-Shah Muhammad's herd of elephants, twenty of which were presented in 616 H. (1220 A.D.) to the garrison that defended Samarkand against the forces of Genghis Khan.<sup>10</sup>

Masson, in 1923, watched the excavation work carried out in laying the trolley lines from Samarkand<sup>11</sup> station to the rice market in the old town. The lines were laid inside the area enclosed by the ancient walls of Samarkand and in one place crossed Timur's citadel. The excavations were not deep, and consequently no important observations could be made. In the fifteenth-century stratum, within the limits of the old town, a beautiful pitcher in green glaze, with ornamentation in relief, and a bowl with a white glaze and a blue floral ornamentation were found.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In this paper but little reference can be made to this subject, which should be the basis for a special article.

<sup>8</sup> We shall keep to this order except for the remains in the Uzbek part of Khiva, which will be considered in connection with the Turkomen remains.

<sup>9</sup> W. Barthold, "Report on Expedition to Turkistān,"

*Izvestiia GAIMK*, VII (1922), 4.

<sup>10</sup> "Investigation No. 85," Archives GAIMK, 1921, unpublished ms.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Germansky, "Samarkand," *Sovietland*, VIII (1938), No. 1, 12-13, 37.

<sup>12</sup> M. E. Masson, "Some Archaeological Data with Re-



In 1924 Vîatkin continued the excavations begun in 1911 at Afrāsiyāb at the place where a Buddhist fresco and a richly molded alabaster panel were found on the wall of an ancient room. The chief work was carried out to the north of this apartment. The excavations disclosed a clay-built, brick-covered, cupolaed edifice with well-preserved walls. On the wall of a small building nearby an Arabic inscription was found: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, say: 'He is the God alone, God the eternal.'" A large number of articles were found during the excavations. The discoveries were dated by ninth- and tenth-century coins.<sup>13</sup>

Vîatkin continued work, in 1929, between the valley with the Siab irrigation canal and the remains of the mosque discovered by Barthold and himself in 1904. The ruins of a dwelling (end of the twelfth century) and a large shallow pit containing burnt wheat were found. In the western part of the excavations a stone pavement was cleared at a depth of 1.3 meters, and the remains of dwellings were found on three levels, the lowest of which could be dated by means of Afrāsiyāb goblets of Hellenistic form belonging to the first centuries of our era and the highest by glazed vessels of the Samanid period. A hoard of Samanid coins of the tenth century was also found.<sup>14</sup>

Vîatkin's excavations in 1930 resulted in the disclosure of the remains of the first large building of the *Ḳarakhānid* period (eleventh to twelfth centuries A.D.) at Afrāsiyāb. Many typical samples of sculptured terra cotta, such as was used in facing the walls of buildings, many fragments of coated vessels, coins, and a large water conduit of earthenware pipes were unearthed.

The plan of Afrāsiyāb had the form of an isosceles triangle, one of whose base angles was turned to the south. The town, which stood on a natural hill intersected by numerous hollows, was originally surrounded by a wall, which now appears as a massive clay-built erection 40 meters high inside. The remains of towers are seen at some places on the walls, which were 3.34 kilometers in length. The greatest length or width of the town was 1.5 kilometers. Dated coins and Vîatkin's observations indicate that these town walls existed during the period of the first Samanids (second half of the ninth century). In the northern part of the town stood the square, steep mound of the citadel, with walls 80 meters in length. The entrance was in the middle of the eastern wall. Excavations at the citadel revealed two corner turrets, ten ancient, well-like pits (latrines), and large clay-built stratifications of unknown purpose. A large space in the town was occupied by reservoirs, the greatest of which, situated by the southern wall, had a capacity of about a million gallons of water. The town was supplied with water by means of water channels, earthenware pipes, and wells.

gard to the Historical Topography of Samarkand Gathered on the Occasion of the Construction of the Narrow Gauge Trolley Line in 1923," *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, I (1926), 115-20.

<sup>13</sup> "Investigation No. 108," Archives GAIMK, 1924,

unpublished ms.; *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, I (1926), 31. For detailed account of excavations see also V. L. Vîatkin, *The Town of Afrāsiyāb* (Leningrad, 1928).

<sup>14</sup> "Investigation No. 111," Archives GAIMK, 1929, unpublished ms.

To the west of the citadel the ruins of a cathedral mosque and a minaret were excavated. The minaret was faced with bricks stamped with the Persian word *Ikhshīd*, the title of the ancient Samarkand rulers. In many parts of the town, especially in the center, the remains of potters' workshops were found.

No traces of streets remained. It is assumed that they were so narrow and crooked that they were filled when the buildings collapsed. The houses were constructed of unbaked bricks on wooden framework, with clay molding. Some houses were provided with windows with gypsum lattices set with small pieces of glass.

According to Viātkin the date of occupation of Afrāsiyāb is best determined by coins, some of which belonged to the Sasanids, some to the Bukhār-Khudāts, and some to the Umayyad and the Abbasid caliphs. Samanid coins were excavated in large quantities all over the site; Karākhānid and Seljuk coins were found less frequently. Coins of the Khwarazm Shahs were far more common, especially those of Muhammad b. Takash. The latest were those of Möngke. This shows that Afrāsiyāb was inhabited from the fourth or fifth to the thirteenth century.

The greater part of the unglazed pottery was wheel-made, well fired, and simply ornamented in harmony with its purpose. There were large vessels, several kinds of pitchers, jugs, saucers, and bowls. Large and small pots with circular bases were employed for cooking.

Another type of pottery seen was technically inferior to that just described and less thoroughly fired. The surfaces of the handmade pitchers and pots were carefully polished and covered with markings in the form of parallel lines, diamonds, crisscrosses, and spirals. Viātkin attributes this pottery to the period of the Tripolje culture and compares it with that of Anau. He thus draws the conclusion that a mature civilization existed in the Zarafshān Valley two or three thousand years B.C. He notes, however, that vessels of this kind were found in the earliest and in later levels of the town, even up to the twelfth century. In order to explain the discovery of undamaged pots of Tripolje type in the later levels, he offers an extremely artificial and totally unfounded hypothesis, namely, that these vessels might have been dug up by chance during the later period and reutilized. During the 1936 excavations on the ruins of the town of Tarāz, Terenozhkin also found vessels of Tripolje type in the strata dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Terenozhkin reports that vessels of Tripolje type are still used by the Yaghnobī in the Tajik S. S. R.<sup>15</sup>

Glazed pottery was much used at Afrāsiyāb. The most common forms were plates and dishes, but pitchers for milk or for use as lamps were also found.

Terenozhkin classifies the glazed pottery of Central Asia according to the following periods: (1) the Sogdian period (eighth to twelfth century), (2) the Mongol period, and (3) the Timurid period. At Afrāsiyāb only pottery of the first two periods occurred.

Typical Sogdian dishes (*Figs. 9 and 10*) were covered with a glaze and generally had a

<sup>15</sup> G. V. Grigor'ev, "Archaic Features in Pottery Manufacture among the Mountain Tadjiks," *Izvestiia GAIMK*,

X (1931), Fasc. 10.



painted design in black, green, red, or blue on white. Strict symmetry was observed in the ornamentation. The composition of the designs generally depended on dividing the dishes into two, three, four, or more sectors. As elements of the design, dots, leaves, and ribbons were used. In some cases the dishes had one or two lines of writing across them, such as the Arabic word *اليمن* ("happiness") or *محمد* ("Muhammad"), repeated several times, or the words *العز والبركة والفضل والاقبال لصاحبه* ("power, blessing, redundancy, thriving to its owner"). On one dish a fantastic horse with a bird's head turned backward was represented.

The glazed pottery of the Mongol period showed less advanced technique, inferior glaze, and less artistic designs.

It is not known for what purpose the numerous terra-cotta slabs and miniature altars were used. Viâtkin believes that the little altars were reproductions of temples. These altars were covered inside and outside, as were the terra-cotta slabs outside, with a beautiful stamped floral ornamentation. The altars bore pictures of birds, columns, and the Arabic inscription *الحمد لله* ("praise to God"). It is difficult to fix the date of the appearance of these objects, but in the fourteenth century they were no longer being made.

Spheroconical vessels of indeterminate use found frequently in Afrāsiyāb are considered by Viâtkin to have been incendiary petroleum bombs which could be shot from catapults. His theory is supported by the fact that such vessels have been found with the inscription *الفتح* ("victory"), but none of the explanations of the purpose of the spheroconical vessels, the one here given not excepted, have many facts to support them.

According to Viâtkin evidences of the manufacture of glass do not appear at Afrāsiyāb, but Voevodskii states that in his examination of the ruins of Afrāsiyāb he came across traces of large glass-making workshops in several places. The glass was generally colorless but was sometimes green and was made into small, exquisitely fashioned flasks, phials, tumblers, mugs, wineglasses, goblets, spoons, jugs, carafes, and bottles.

Viâtkin describes tombstones found outside the town.<sup>16</sup> Large river flagstones up to a meter in length were used. Viâtkin read the inscriptions on some two hundred and fifty tombstones of this type, the oldest dating from the end of the eleventh century A.D. The majority belonged to the twelfth, a smaller number to the thirteenth, and only a few to the fourteenth century. Each tombstone bore an inscription engraved in Arabic and showed the name of the person buried and the year of burial; some of the stones were decorated with arabesques. On one stone there was no inscription, only the engraved profile of a head wearing a castellated crown, as appears on the coins of the Bukhār-Khudāts. At the other end of the stone an elephant (?) and a bird were engraved. At the time of the Timurids in Samarkand the use of flagstones was superseded by that of large slabs hewn from limestone or marble.

During 1928 on the lower reaches of the Zarafshān River archaeological work was con-

<sup>16</sup> V. L. Viâtkin, "Samarkand Archaeological Chronicle," *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, III (1928), 277-78.

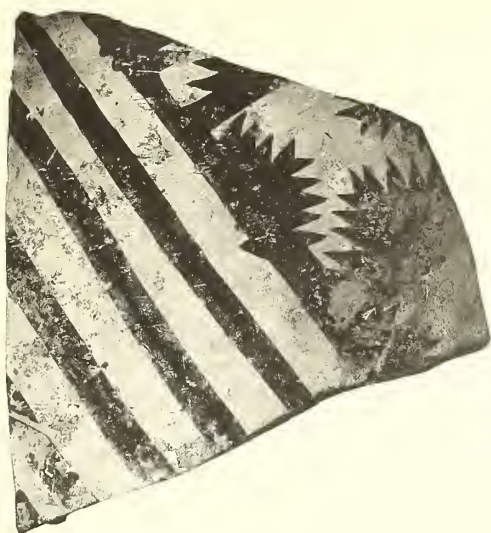


FIG. 1—PAINTED POTSHERD FROM NAMĀZ-GĀH  
TAPPA ON NORTHERN FOOTHILLS OF  
KOPET-DĀGH

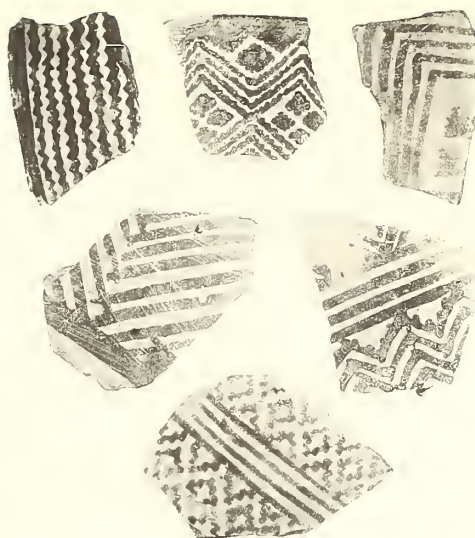


FIG. 2—PAINTED POTSHERDS FROM AĞ TAPPA  
NEAR ASHKHABAD



FIG. 4—FRAGMENT OF A GRECO-BUDDHIST SCULPTURED CORNICE  
FOUND NEAR AIRTAM, WEST OF TERMEZ



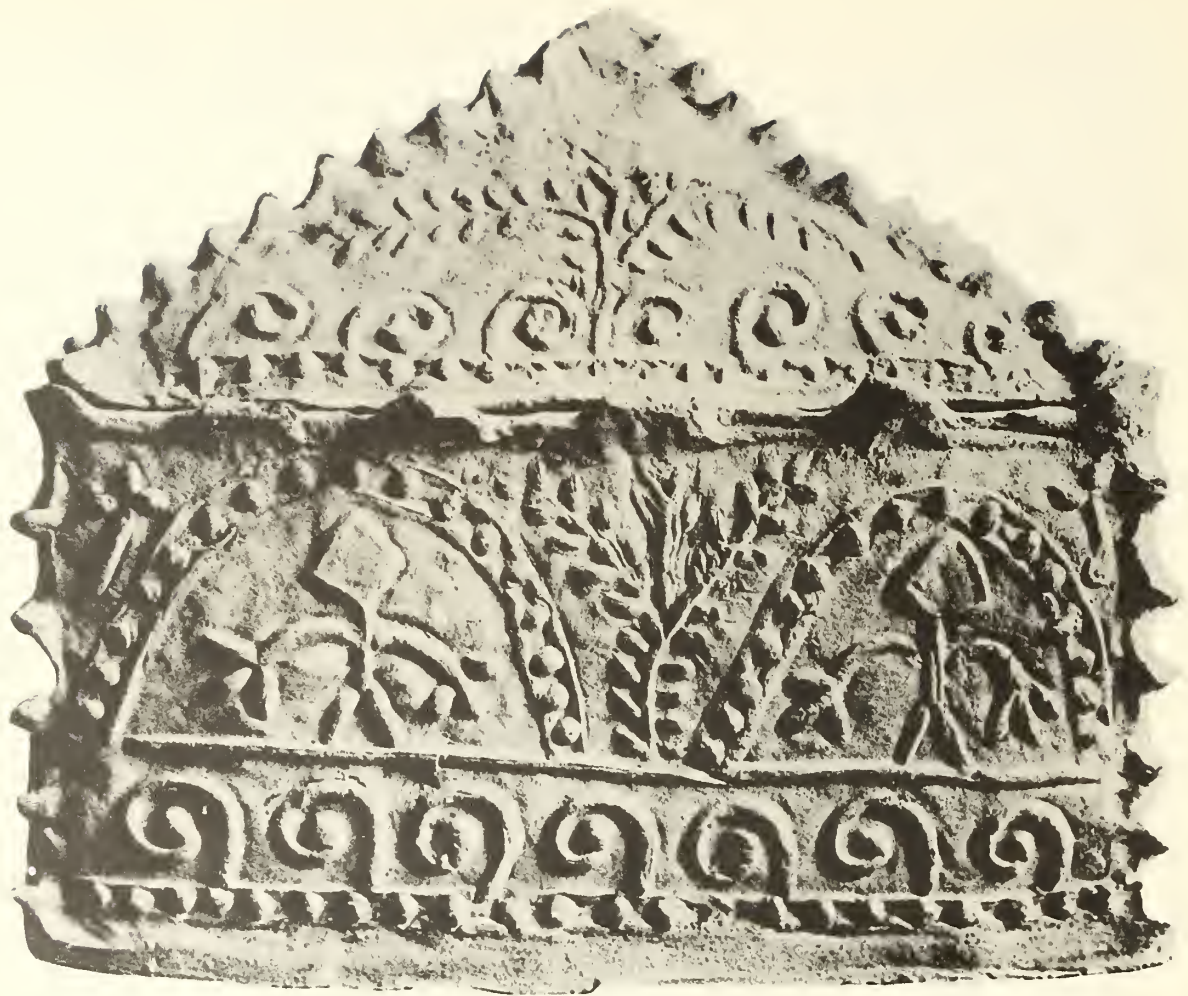


FIG. 8—FRAGMENT OF AN OSSUARY, PROBABLY SOGDIAN, FOUND AT ALAMEDIN NEAR FRUNZE



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

GLAZED POTTERY DISHES WITH POLYCHROME UNDERGLAZE DECORATION, SOGDIAN PERIOD



FIG. 11



FIG. 12

GENERAL VIEW AND INTERIOR, MOSQUE IN KHUZARA, EIGHTH CENTURY A.D.



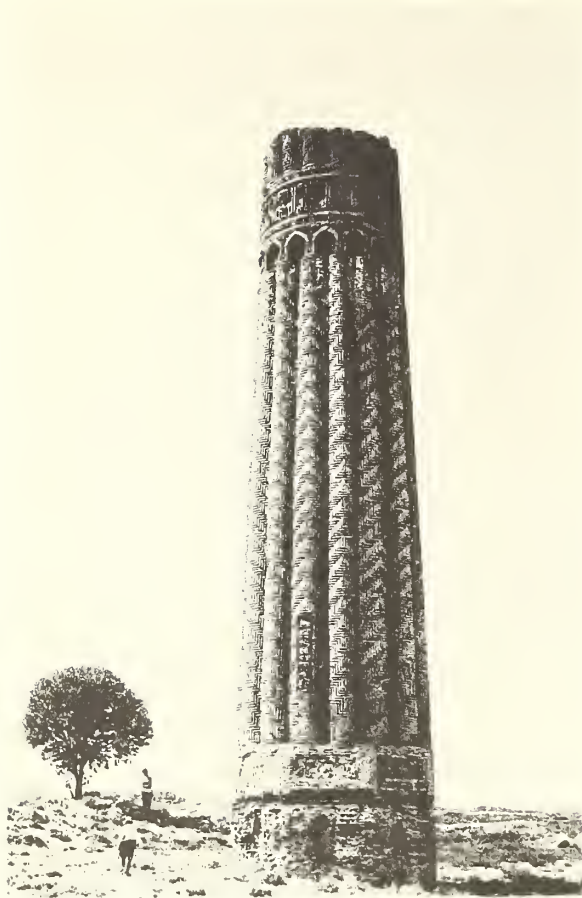


FIG. 13—PRE-MONGOLIAN MINARET IN  
YĀR-KURGAN GROUP NEAR TERMEZ



TIMUR AT THE TIME OF UZBEK KHAN  
FIG. 16—URGENCH MINARET BUILT BY KUTLUGH

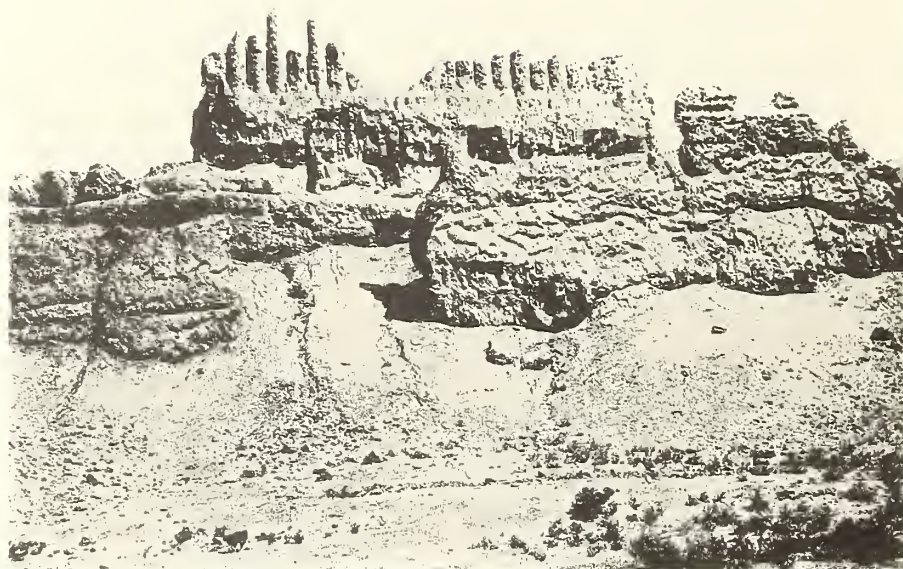


FIG. 17—RUINS OF THE GIAUR-KA'LA IN MIZDĀKHKĀN

ducted by Vîatkin<sup>17</sup> in the ruins of Rabindjan, Rabāt-i Malik, and Bokhara. Rabindjan, a large and famous Samanid town, was destroyed in 1168 A.D. by the Ḳarākhānids. Situated on the bank of the Nerpal irrigation canal west of the town of Katta-Kurgan, these ruins occupy an area of about one hundred hectares. The higher—the eastern—part of the town was surrounded by a single wall. West of the fortifications the whole surface was covered with baked bricks and fragments of clay vessels. The archaeological deposit was more than 3 meters thick. On the surface, fragments of glazed vessels, bricks with a peculiar stamp not encountered in ruins of other Central Asian towns, and many Samanid coins were found. From the distribution of the objects Vîatkin suggests that the Samanid town occupied the western part of the ruins and that the eastern part belonged to an earlier period.

On the *Shāh-rāh* ("King's road"), on which Rabindjan stood, Vîatkin investigated the ruins of Zerabelak, Kāfir-Ḳal'a, and Kard-Zan.<sup>18</sup>

The first and most detailed description of Rabāt-i Malik,<sup>19</sup> which lies 17 kilometers from Kermine (Karmīniya), was made in 1841 by the naturalist, A. Leman.

Rabāt-i Malik was built in the form of a square, with sides 84–86 meters long facing the points of the compass, and with corner turrets. The main southern façade, with a turret at the southwest corner and gates in the center of the wall, has been preserved. The walls and turrets were built of unbaked bricks but were faced with baked bricks. The gates had the appearance of large portals with lancet arches. They had a total width of 12.03 meters; the present height is 15 meters. Around the arch there was an Arabic inscription in terra-cotta slabs, included in an ornamental belt of octagonal stars. Within the gates the sides of the arch were ornamented with carving and molding. The inscription, as far as it could be deciphered, stated that the place was built by the "Sultan of the World" and that it had, "with the help of God, become like Paradise."

The turret on the southwestern corner had been preserved up to the cornice, above which, judging from Leman's sketch, there had been a cupola. On the northern side, about half way up, was an arched entrance to a winding staircase, leading upward. Under the cornice was a terra-cotta frieze, with the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the third sura. The turret had a diameter of 5 meters at the base, and the height of the part preserved was 15.6 meters. Zasyppkin holds the view that this turret was a minaret and that the turrets at the other three corners were watchtowers.

The wall was best preserved between the gates and the southwest minaret. In the center it was decorated with six connected half columns. The cornice of the wall had fallen completely into ruins. Adjoining the wall on the inside there had formerly been two-storied buildings. The remains of the wall were 12 meters high. The date of Rabāt-i Malik has been fixed

<sup>17</sup> "Investigation No. 111," Archives GAIMK, 1929. unpublished ms.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> B. N. Zasyppkin, "Architectural Remains of Middle

Asia," *Questions of Restoration*, II (1928), 212–31; S. S. Umnřakov, *Rabāt-i Malik* (Tashkent, 1927), pp. 179–93. عقد الجمان; W. Barthold, *Sbornik*, ed. by A. E. Schmidt and E. K. Betger (Tashkent, 1927).



by Barthold from a note in the margin of a manuscript of *Kitāb-i Mullāzada* which states: "The builder of the King's rabāt was Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Shams al-Mulk; he built Rabāt-i Malik in the year 471 of our chronology" (1078-79 A.D.).

Rabāt-i Malik is important because it is the oldest dated civil building of Muslim architecture in Central Asia and because of the goffered finish of its half columns, which throw light on the date of a number of remains at Merv, in the neighborhood of Khiva and Termez.

The archaeological history of Bokhara is being studied by the Bokhara Committee for the Preservation and Study of Ancient Monuments of Material Culture. During 1935 this committee discovered<sup>20</sup> the earliest mosque in Central Asia in Khuzara village, 40 kilometers from Bokhara (*Figs. 11 and 12*). On the basis of architectural and stylistic form this mosque is attributed to the eighth century.<sup>21</sup>

In 1934 an expedition from GAIMK and UZKOMSTARIS (A. Y. ĪAkubovskii, leader) carried out extensive archaeological investigations in the Zarafshān Valley. The expedition investigated the ruins of a number of towns, including those of Rabindjan, and of Kampirduval ("Old Women's Wall"), an ancient wall 250 kilometers in length.

Permanent collections of archaeological objects in the town and neighborhood of Tashkent are preserved either by UZKOMSTARIS or in the local museum.

In 1930, Potapov, while excavating tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. near the town of Psken, in the valley of the river Chirchik (Čirčik), discovered two Čaghatāi nomad inhumations. There were numerous articles in the graves, which were dated by Duva-Khan coins (1282-1306 A.D.).

In 1927 a coiner's outfit of the second half of the fourteenth century<sup>22</sup> was found by chance in the Palvan water channel in Tashkent. The complete set of tools for striking coins consisted of a large, iron-faceted hammer; iron pincers; an iron mold for casting narrow ingots; iron scissors; two copper pans belonging to a balance; a small iron anvil; fragments of a copper vessel, with signs of having been cut; a lump of lead; three iron ingots; coining stamps; four bronze ingots; five bronze matrices, used for coining; two bronze bowls, containing iron and bronze ingots; stamps; and 150 coins.

Two stamps were intended to serve as lower matrices and three as upper. On the best-preserved matrix appears (ال)سلطان بردی بك خان (ا)لعادل ("Sultan Birdī Beg Khan, the Just"), and on the two others, ضرب بلد گلستان ("mint of the town of Gulistān" in the year 770 [1368-69 A.D.]).

There were sixty-seven copper coins, the remainder being of a copper, zinc, and silver alloy, in imitation of silver. These coins were copied after those struck by Djānī Beg Khan

<sup>20</sup> According to a letter from the Bokhara Committee, dated July 17, 1936, sent to Field Museum of Natural History through VOKS.

<sup>21</sup> H. Field and E. Prostov, "The Oriental Institute Report on the Near East, U.S.S.R.," *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, LIII (1937), No. 2, 123-24; and

"Archaeology in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XXXIX (1937), No. 3, 475-76, Plates 4 and 5 (with a short discussion of the building by E. Schroeder).

<sup>22</sup> M. E. Masson, "Fourteenth Century Coiner's Outfit near Tāshkent," *Records UZKOMSTARIS* (1933).

and Pūlād Khodja Khan, 750-87 H. (1349-85 A.D.), in the towns of Sarāi al-Djadīd, Sighnāḳ, and Khiva. On the majority of the coins the inscriptions were either illegible or entirely absent.

On the basis of the coiner's outfit described, Masson analyzed the process by which false money was coined in Central Asia and gathered interesting data with regard to finds of coiners' tools in other places and to the location of mints in Central Asiatic khanships.

The ruins of Termez were studied from 1926 to 1928 by a joint expedition from the Museum of Eastern Cultures in Moscow and UZKOMSTARIS, under B. P. Deniké. Material was collected which occasioned radical changes in views held with regard to Muslim art and the history of material culture in Central Asia. The whole territory of the ancient town of Termez was declared a state archaeological research site.

There are two main groups of ruins: (1) the fortifications on the river Amu-Darya and (2) the ruins in the neighborhood of the railway station.<sup>23</sup>

On the Amu-Darya at Termez an investigation was made of a fortification, built of baked bricks, in the form of semicircular projections. Near the northeastern corner of the fort a group of buildings of baked brick, including a mosque and several mausoleums, was investigated.

The southwestern ruins are those of the mausoleum containing the tomb of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Tirmidhī. According to the inscription, which was made not earlier than the fourteenth century, Tirmidhī died in 255 H. (869 A.D.). This mausoleum had been rebuilt more than once, but the lower portion has preserved its ancient form. Under a layer of later molding there was alabaster, sculptured in rows of trefoils. This work probably belonged to the ninth century A.D., the time when Tirmidhī was buried.

The area north of the fortress was covered with bricks and pottery fragments. At some distance from the fortress were the ruins of buildings, which occurred more frequently and were larger near the Shīrābād road. Beside this road, 1.5 kilometers from the fortress, was a cylindrical minaret decorated with three friezes of inscriptions. On the strength of the data available this minaret has been attributed to pre-Mongolian times. It is supposed that the surrounding ruins belong to the same period.

The group of ruins near the railway station, 5 kilometers from the Amu-Darya, apparently belonged to the town built after the Mongolian invasion described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Clavijo. The main ruins of the group were those of Kir-Kiz, the Kokil-Dor mausoleum, and the large architectural ensemble of Sultan-Sadat (Sultān-i Sādāt). Kir-Kiz, a massive clay-built edifice with turrets at the corners, is described by V. Zagura, who regards it as a pre-Mongolian palace. The Sultan-Sadat ensemble is composed of a hospice (khānaqāh) of the shaikh, and a large group of fourteenth- to seventeenth-century mausoleums.

<sup>23</sup> B. P. Deniké, "Expedition of the Museum of Eastern Cultures to Termez," *Kul'tura Vostoka*, 1927, pp.

9-18; V. Zagura, "Ruins of the Palace near Termez," *Kul'tura Vostoka*, 1927, pp. 19-26.



The expedition also visited the Aral Paighāmbar island and investigated the mosque and mausoleum there. The mosque is of the Bokhara type and does not appear to be ancient.

In 1927 the Expedition of the Museum of Eastern Cultures<sup>24</sup> investigated the Yār-Kurgan group of ruins and the ancient city of Termez. Fragments of Buddhist statues were found near Genghis Tappa. Near the fortress stands a building with sculptured alabaster decorations on the walls. Zasyppkin measured the main buildings. Sculptured ornamentation was found on the walls of a ruined building of unbaked bricks situated 2 kilometers east of the fortress.



FIG. 14—ANIMALS CARVED IN STUCCO FOUND IN BUILDING NO. 1  
ON THE AMU-DARYA, EAST OF TERMEZ

As a result of more thorough investigation of the ruins of Kir-Kiz by Zasyppkin, it has been established that they belong to pre-Mongolian times and represent the remains of a hospice with living quarters and cells.

Vîatkin, who accompanied the expedition, found from the Arabic inscription on the lower frieze of the minaret on the *Shîrâbâd* road that it was built in the year 423 H. (1031 A.D.). It is, therefore, the oldest dated minaret in Central Asia.

Only a few ruins remain of the Yār-Kurgan group, among which is the magnificent pre-Mongolian minaret (*Fig. 13*). It is built on an octagonal foundation, on the top of which is a

<sup>24</sup> B. P. Deniké, "Expedition of the Museum of Eastern Cultures to Central Asia, 1927," *Kul'tura Vostoka*,

II (1928), 3-16.

Kufic inscription in brick. Above the octagon the plaitlike tower of the minaret begins. The top of the minaret has not been preserved. Toward the top, over the hollows between the strands of the plait, are small arches and a band with an inscription. On one of these strands is the architect's inscription, of which the first words are legible: "One of the works of Ali, son of Muhammad . . . ."

Fragments of a statue of Buddha and red, burnished shards were found. Near the fortress were shards similar to Samanid pottery from Afrāsiyāb, while the fragments in the station ruins were of the dark blue and pale blue glazed types of Timurid times.



FIG. 15—ANIMALS CARVED IN STUCCO FOUND IN BUILDING NO. 1  
ON THE AMU-DARYA, EAST OF TERMEZ

In addition to the work at Termez the expedition examined the architectural remains at Margilan and Ura-Tyube, belonging to the Timurid and post-Timurid periods. In 1928 Building No. 1, with sculptured alabaster on the walls, was excavated by Zasytkin, and a deposit on the bank of the Amu-Darya near the fortress was studied.<sup>25</sup>

Excavation of the fortress disclosed strata containing a large quantity of glazed and unglazed pottery. Although it has special peculiarities of style and technique distinguishing it from the Samanid pottery at Afrāsiyāb, it also belongs to the Samanid period.

In the southern wall of Building No. 1 a frieze was disclosed on which a many-headed monster, winged lions, and a battle of beasts were represented (*Figs. 14 and 15*). A number of pylons with different kinds of carved ornamentation were also disclosed. Arabic inscriptions in the Naskhī script on the columns and the style of decoration date the building during the

<sup>25</sup> "Investigation No. 157," Archives of GAIMK, unpublished ms.



twelfth century. It is supposed that this structure was of a nonreligious character and that it may have served as a reception hall for the palace.

During the summer of 1933 an expedition of the First Moscow State University and the Moscow Historical Museum under A. S. Bashkirov, carried out further work at Termez.

In the same year an expedition of the Uzbek State Scientific Research Institute and the Uzbek State Agricultural Trust under G. V. Parfenov examined the Amu-Darya ruins and collected and photographed the portable objects.

Parfenov examined the ruins of the 'Abd Allāh Khan rabāt, near the village of Darband, built in the eleventh or twelfth century and faced with majolica in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

In 1934 the government of the Uzbek S. S. R. assigned a sum of money for the immediate repair of the Sultan-Sadat group of mausoleums, the 'Alī Ḥakim Tirmidhī mausoleum, and the Yār-Kurgan minaret.

In 1936 the expedition of the Surkhan District Museum, under Parfenov, made a study of the ruins of Building No. 1. It was decided to complete the excavation, begun the year before, of the hall. It proved to be enclosed on three sides by bare walls and to open on the fourth into a wide quadrangle, the walls of which were patterned in baked bricks. The hall was intersected by two rows of columns supporting a vaulted roof.

The rectangular bases of the columns were covered with alabaster on which geometrical and floral patterns, consisting of 120 elements, were carved. The vaulted roof of the reception hall was decorated with light blue mural paintings.

During 1937 this project was continued. Excavations were commenced on the apartment to the north of the reception hall, and a portion of the courtyard was cleared. In the center of the latter a reservoir built of baked bricks was revealed.

#### TAJIK S. S. R.

In studying the archaeology of this region special attention has been paid to the history of mining<sup>27</sup> and to the remarkable discoveries on Mount Mugh, near Khairābād in the upper Zarafshān Valley. One of the most important sources of different metals in the Tajik S. S. R., and indeed in the whole of Central Asia, is Ḳarā-Mazār, south of Tashkent. In the Middle Ages this mountain ridge belonged to the Īlāk mining district, in the Shāsh region. The mining industry in Īlāk, as is very clearly evidenced by written records and numismatic data, reached its highest point of development in the ninth or tenth century of our era. It is to this period that the great majority of the ancient workings recently identified belong. Nasledov<sup>28</sup> describes

<sup>26</sup> From letter of G. V. Parfenov to M. V. Voevodskii.

<sup>27</sup> M. E. Masson, *The History of Mining in Tadjiki-*

*stān* (Leningrad, 1934).

<sup>28</sup> B. N. Nasledov, *Ḳarā-Mazār* (Leningrad, 1935).

some 150 sites where ore was mined in ancient times, and the remains of fourteen smelteries.

The chief smelting center of Īlāk was the town of Tūnkath, the ruins of which were discovered by Masson near the village of Sarzailyak on the left bank of the river Angren (Āhangarān). In Tūnkath the slag heaps from the smelting furnaces formed regular mounds among the ruins.

Gold, lead, and copper were obtained at the Ḳarā-Mazār mines, but the most precious metal of all was Īlāk silver, which was very highly valued in the eastern countries during the Middle Ages. Lead and silver comprised 86 per cent of the volume of ore obtained.

Most of the ancient mines were worked by individual diggers who exploited the ores, rapaciously taking only from the richest and most easily accessible seams. The ore, sorted or concentrated by washing with water, was refined on the spot in small primitive smelting furnaces. In general, the mines did not exceed 20 to 50 meters in depth, and only in exceptional cases were they deeper than 100 to 150 meters. The large-scale operations of Kān-i Maṣṣūr, Kandjod, and Altin-Topkan indicated that at these places the mining technique was advanced.

Masson has established that the Shāsh silver mine, known from coins of the Abbasid caliphs, was at Kandjod and that the Kūh-i Sīm Mountain ("Silver Mountain") mentioned by the Arabian geographers corresponds to the Kān-i Maṣṣūr mine.

Nasledov describes the ancient workings at Kān-i Maṣṣūr as follows:

The ancient mine still remains, in the form of a number of extremely large workings, consisting of main chambers, a large gallery, and a central pit. The main workings follow one another at regular intervals for 450 to 500 meters, in a direction 70 to 75 degrees northeast. The other workings, which form part of the same system as the first, run for about one kilometer in the same direction. The large gallery, which is in the western part of the mine, is a quarry, widening towards the east. It has a length of 350 meters, width of 25 meters, and depth of 15 to 20 meters to the rubble. At the bottom of the gallery are crevices in which there are inaccessible workings. To the east of the quarry is the central pit, 30 by 30 meters, filled with rubble. Also to the east are the main chambers, which have a height of 30 to 50 meters, and an almost equal breadth and length of 70 to 100 meters. The most eastern workings are from 50 to 300 meters from the main chambers, east-northeast. They have the appearance of open pits and quarries, 50 by 20 meters, and are filled up, though ledges are visible in some places.<sup>28a</sup>

The total volume of ore excavated is estimated by Nasledov at 250,000 cubic meters, which represents about 43 per cent of the volume of ore in all the ancient workings of Ḳarā-Mazār.

In 1930 Potapov excavated some ninth- to thirteenth-century copper smelteries at Khojend (Khudjanda). These revealed the gradual decay of the industry. Remnants of furnaces were found at different levels. Those in the lower levels were designed for smelting large quantities of metal; those in the upper levels were extremely small. Thus, the decay of mining,

<sup>28a</sup> *Ibid.*



which occurred about the thirteenth century and which was established by Nasledov from observations of the ancient ore workings, is confirmed by the decline of smelting technique.

In the medieval mines of Central Asia various ancient mining implements were found. These are undoubtedly of archaeological interest, but unfortunately there is scanty literature about them. According to Masson<sup>29</sup> wooden shovels, iron axes, wedges, and hammers were found in the ancient mines. On the walls of the *Ḳarā-Mazār* mines the marks of metal implements (picks?), rectangular in cross section, have been frequently observed. A clay lamp (*čirāgh*) was invariably used by miners. Both glazed and unglazed lamps have often been found. At the smelteries the ore was crushed with large stone hammers, but for a special concentrate it was ground between the stones of water mills.

Of especial importance was the discovery of Sogdian manuscripts on Mount Mugh.<sup>30</sup> The first manuscript was found there in the spring of 1932 by a shepherd of *Khairābād*, 20 kilometers to the east of Samarkand. From a photograph sent to the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. in Leningrad it was established that this manuscript was written in Sogdian cursive script. It was the first manuscript to be found in the Soviet Union on the actual territory of the ancient Sogdian people.

In the autumn of 1933, following a resolution of the authorities of the central Tajik S. S. R., an expedition from IAE (A. A. Freiman, leader) was sent to Mount Mugh, on Mugh-*Ḳal'a* ("the Fortress of the Magi"), the outermost spur of a small mountain range connecting the *Zarafshān* ridge and the river *Zarafshān*.

On its summit are the ruins of a building surrounded by a slate wall and composed of four long rooms, with terraces on the west side. The trapezoidal summit of the hill had been built on a level foundation of clay and gravel. The lower part of the walls in the foundation was of slate, the upper part of unbaked bricks. The rooms were very narrow (1.8–2.2 by 17.5 m.), and each had a vaulted roof. The building had two stories, but the second had collapsed.

Many household articles, including earthenware pots and cauldrons, pitchers, and bowls, were unearthed. The pottery was without glaze or ornamentation. There were many wooden articles, including dishes, cups, buttons, combs, spoons, shields, wickerwork boxes, and trays.

The archaeological data obtained in the ruins of the castle of *Divāstī* will undoubtedly be of great importance to the study of the genesis of civilization among the peoples of Central Asia during the first centuries of the Muslim period. One document is of particular value because it confirms the historical records of the Arabian chroniclers, *al-Ṭabarī* in particular.

Of the archaeological remains in the Tajik S. S. R., a massive wooden column, discovered by M. S. Andreev in the *Oburdān* mosque in *Matsha*, is still to be mentioned. *Matsha* is a small mountain country in the highest part of the *Zarafshān* Valley.<sup>31</sup> On top of the capital of the

<sup>29</sup> M. E. Masson, "Archaeological Data Concerning the History of Mining in Central Asia—Mining Implements," *Bull. Central Asiatic Geol. Invest. Admin.*, No. 2 (1930), 38–48.

<sup>30</sup> *Sogdīskii Sbornik* ["Sogdian Collectanea"], Academy of Sciences (Leningrad, 1934).

<sup>31</sup> M. S. Andreev, "The Wooden Column at *Matsha*," *Izvestiia GAIMK*, IV (1925), 115–118; A. A. Semenov,

column, which is covered with a peculiar type of carving, is a curious crosspiece, bearing a representation of the head of a man or of an animal. According to old inhabitants the column and crosspiece were taken from an ancient mosque, now in ruins.

#### TURKOMEN S. S. R.

In 1927 rumors were in circulation that the famous fifteenth-century mosque with pictures of dragons at Anau was in danger of collapse. UZKOMSTARIS organized an expedition under A. A. Semenov to ascertain the possibility of restoring this mosque. The expedition investigated a number of other ancient archaeological remains in the towns of the southern Turkomen S. S. R.

Semenov concluded that the ruins at Nessa were the remains of the famous ancient town of *Khurāsān-Nasā*, which fell during the wars with the Turkomans in the eighteenth century. These ruins, 16 kilometers to the west of Ashkhabad near Bagir, consisted of the remains of two fortresses. The one near Ashkhabad appeared to be the older of the two. The wall remained in the form of a simple piece of masonry, across which lay mounds formed by the ruined towers. Within the fortress no ancient buildings remained. Of the farther structure large clay walls were visible. On the outskirts of the old town, near the foot of the mountains, were remains of a building with a large cupola, with vaulted roofing and niches in the dome. In its ruined condition the cupola had a height of 6 meters; the wall was 10 meters high. The building, part of the governor's palace, was made of roughly hewn lumps of granite and baked bricks. This was the site of the latest town of Nessa, captured by the Turkomans about a hundred years ago.

From Ashkhabad a visit was made to Meah-Baba, situated near Makhmal at the foot of Kopet-Dāgh. Here among the ruins of a small ancient village stands the mausoleum of the famous Shaikh Abū Sa'īd of Maihana (Mihna, Meikhene, or Mekhne). To the southeast are the ruins of the principal town of ancient *Khāwarān* (Khaveran), Maihana, consisting of the remains of numerous dwelling houses, public buildings, and walls.

The mausoleum of Abū Sa'īd (967-1049), which is in a good state of preservation, is a massive cupolaed building of baked bricks. Its portal is faced with glazed bricks and pale blue, dark blue, and white tiles. The walls inside are covered with magnificently preserved floral, geometric, and scriptorial designs, executed in blue and red paint on the plaster. Most of the texts of the inscriptions are taken from the Koran. From the style of this building Semenov attributes it to the end of the fourteenth century.

The mausoleum of Sultan Sandjar (1068-1157) on the ruins of Old Merv, was also examined.

In 1929 the archaeological section of TURKMENKULT carried out an investigation of

"The Ruins of Transcaucasia [i.e., Transcaspia?]," *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, III (1928), 56-84; B. Deniké, "Quelques monuments de bois sculpté au Tur-

kestān Occidental," *Ars Islamica*, II (1935), Pt. 1, 69-70, Figs. 1-2.



the old fortress of *Qizil Arvat*.<sup>32</sup> In 1937 the institute organized an expedition under Semenov to the neighborhood of ancient *Khāwarān*.<sup>33</sup> The expedition followed the itinerary: Chacha, Maihana, Dushak, Kahka, Baba Durmaz, Chugun-Dor. A second examination of the Abū-Sa'īd mausoleum yielded data which enabled the excavators to attribute it to the eleventh-thirteenth centuries instead of to the end of the fourteenth century. Special attention was paid by the expedition to the ruins of Maihana and to the ancient oases between Dushak and Kahka.

TURKMENKULT investigated the ruins of ancient Sarakhs in 1930,<sup>34</sup> where a round stone about 1 meter in diameter with a seventh- to ninth-century Kufic inscription was excavated. This stone was taken to the Ashkhabad Museum. Investigations were also carried out in Keshakh, Aq Tappa, in the neighborhood of the stations of Baba Durmaz, Giaurs, Bezmein, Gök Tappa, and *Qizil Arvat*. In Ashkhabad excavations have been begun on the fortress mound.

In 1929 Viätkin led an expedition to Khiva under the auspices of UZKOMSTARIS to list and to arrange for the repair of the architectural remains.<sup>35</sup> During the same year, as representative of UZKOMSTARIS, Sokolov investigated the ruins of Daya-Khatin, Darghān-Atā, Zamakhshar, and Buldymgaz, on the Amu-Darya.<sup>36</sup>

GAIMK sent out two expeditions in 1928 and 1929 under Īakubovskii to study the ruins of Kunya-Urgench (Gurgāndj, Arabic: *Djurdjāniya*), in the Tashaus area of the northern Turkomen S. S. R.

In 1934 MOGAIMK sent an expedition (M. V. Voevodskii, leader) into southern Khiva, within the boundaries of the Novo-Urgench area of the Uzbek S. S. R., and part of the Tashaus area of the Turkomen S. S. R.

P. Arbekov<sup>37</sup> published a description of the fortifications of ancient Sarakhs (Serakhs) and of the Sarakhs-Baba mausoleum. According to his description the fortress was rectangular, 0.5 kilometers in length and 0.15 to 0.20 kilometers in width. The walls, built of baked brick, had crumbled badly. One tower which had remained in better condition than the others was 12 meters high. There were traces of a moat around the fortress. The gates were in the middle of the eastern wall. The chief ruins of ancient buildings were around these gates. Very few fragments of pottery were found on the surface. The commonest shards were covered with a dark or light blue glaze, with ornamentation painted in black.<sup>38</sup> Very little unglazed pottery was found. The Sarakhs-Baba mausoleum is 200 meters from the fortress.

On the evidence of historical records Arbekov suggests that from the seventh to the ninth century Sarakhs occupied the territory of modern Kichi Aga in the Mengli Tappa district, but the fortress belonged to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. He also attributes the Sarakhs-

<sup>32</sup> *Turkmenovedenie*, No. 5 (1929), 1.

<sup>33</sup> *TURKMENKULT*, Nos. 6 and 7 (1929), 66.

<sup>34</sup> *Turkmenovedenie*, No. 7 (1930), 46.

<sup>35</sup> "Investigation No. 111," Archives GAIMK, 1929, unpublished ms.

<sup>36</sup> *TURKMENKULT*, Nos. 1 and 2 (1931), 78.

<sup>37</sup> P. Arbekov, "Ancient Remains of the Sarakhs District," *Turkmenovedenie*, Nos. 8-9 (1930), 43-46.

<sup>38</sup> Pottery of the same kind from the ruins of Kunya-Urgench has been attributed to the fourteenth century.

Baba mausoleum to the same period, although V. A. Zhukovskii thought that it was built at the same time as that of Sultan Sandjar.<sup>39</sup>

Masson<sup>40</sup> examined archaeological remains in the Sumbar district. In the valley of the Chandir River near ẖizil-Imām were the ruins of an ancient town, now known as Djiva Tappa. The rectangular citadel, stretching from north to south, occupied an area of a quarter of a hectare. Another place where there was a considerable population in ancient times was near ẖarā-'Alīm, whose citadel occupied the summit of a hill. There were also a number of smaller settlements in the valleys of the rivers Sumbar and Chandir. Study of the pottery indicates that these settlements existed from the end of the pre-Muslim period until the thirteenth century. Among their ruins were water pipes, fragments of glass vessels, a great variety of both glazed and unglazed pottery, and many other objects.

One group of remains in the Sumbar district, belonging to the Turkomans of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, included a number of small fortifications, traces of dwellings, and two kinds of necropolises—one consisting of large tumuli, the other having the appearance of a cemetery, with small mounds covered with stones. Over the graves of the cemeteries were menhir-like tombstones, some 5.5 meters high, in the form of crosses or of headless human figures. On many of these tombstones were carved representations of the human form (often with a tree in place of the head) or of hands, saddle horses, sabers, bows, quivers, slings, or tamghā. The stones also had inscriptions such as “دولت خواجه اوغلی اوچون” (“for Dawlat ẖodja son of Ūčün”) or: “تاریخ مینک یوز اون ییلان یلیده” (“Date 1110—this corresponds to the year of the snake”). The earliest remains belong to the period when Islam was just beginning to find its way among the Turkoman people, and the latest, according to accurate dating, to the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

The work of Īākubovskii<sup>41</sup> in connection with the Kunya-Urgench ruins represents a valuable contribution to the archaeology of the Turkomen S.S.R. His description of the ruins is preceded by an excellent historical review, dealing with Kunya-Urgench, the capital of ancient Khiva.

The wall of the artisan's section of the town, the rabaḍ, extended for a distance of 10 kilometers. In the southeastern corner of the rabaḍ were ruins of the Aḵ-Ḳal'a fortress, whose walls of unbaked brick formed a circle more than 1 kilometer in circumference. The maximum height of the existing walls and turrets was 5.5 meters. To the west stood a rectangular area of more than 2 square kilometers, called Tāsh-Ḳal'a.<sup>42</sup> In the southwestern part of the rabaḍ was the ruined, clay-built fortress of Khwarazm-Bāgh, built by Muhammad Amīn, Khan of Khiva (1846-55).

<sup>39</sup> V. A. Zhuhovskii, *The Ruins of Old Merv*.

<sup>40</sup> M. E. Masson, “Silhouettes of the Sumbar District,” *Turkmenovedenie*, Nos. 3-4 (1931), 53-56.

<sup>41</sup> A. ĪŪ. Īākubovskii, “The Ruins of Urgench,” *Izvestiia GAIMK*, VI (1930), 2.

<sup>42</sup> The archaeological data given by Īākubovskii show clearly that Tāsh-Ḳal'a corresponds to that part of the

town occupied by the aristocracy and the higher priesthood, the *shahristān*, of pre-Mongolian Urgench, but that Aḵ-Ḳal'a is post-Mongolian. The well-known statement of Ibn al-Athīr to the effect that Urgench was rebuilt on a new site after the Mongolian conquest must apparently be taken as meaning that a new *shahristān* was built.



On the site of Kunya-Urgench a number of ancient buildings remained, most of which belong to the Golden Horde period. To the north of the north wall of the rabaḍ of Urgench stood a mausoleum. The inscription on its portal stated that it was built over the tomb of the Shaikh Naḍjm al-Dīn Kubrā during the rulership of ẖutluḡ Timur, that is to say, during the period between 1321, when ẖutluḡ Timur began ruling Khiva, and 1333, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the mausoleum.

The Urgench minaret was almost in the center of the ruins of the town, and the Turā Beg Khānim mausoleum some distance to the northwest. About 170 meters to the southeast of the minaret stood the mausoleum of Shaikh Sharaf, and about 260 meters to the southeast of the latter was the mausoleum of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī. Some meters to the west of the minaret there was a large, low mound covered with broken baked bricks, among which fragments of dark blue, turquoise, and white tiles were found. It may be that a cathedral mosque had been there. Between the minaret and the eastern wall of the rabaḍ stretched a large mound, where, according to tradition, a madrasa had stood. In the northeastern corner of the fortifications lay the ruined building called Yūsuf Beg. Between the Aḡ-Ḳal'a and the Khwarazm-Bāḡh fortress were ruins known as the caravanserai.

The mound overlying the ruins of the second Urgench minaret, which fell at the end of the nineteenth century, was in the northeastern corner of Tāsh-Ḳal'a. Under its foundations a leaden slab was found, carrying an inscription to the effect that the minaret was built by Khwarazm-Shah Abū'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn Ibn Ma'mūn in 401 H. (1011 A.D.).

The site of the town was crossed by a large, ancient water channel, which entered the town at the southeast corner, near Aḡ-Ḳal'a, ran north, skirting Tāsh-Ḳal'a to the north, and entered the Khwarazm-Bāḡh fortress. On the banks of this canal in the neighborhood of the Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī mausoleum there had been potteries.<sup>43</sup> The fragments of glazed and unglazed ware which were found belonged to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Urgench minaret (*Fig. 16*) was 58.89 meters high, the circumference of the base 35 meters. It was built of baked bricks and was formerly surmounted by a dome. The surface of the walls up to the dome was decorated with seventeen [seven?] bands of ornamentation in polished bricks. Between these bands were seven inscriptions on molded terra-cotta slabs. At a height of 8 meters from the ground on the western side of the minaret was the entrance to a winding staircase. A Kufic inscription stated that the minaret was built by ẖutluḡ Timur at the time of Uzbek Khan.

ĪAkubovskii describes the following mausoleums: that of Shaikh Sharaf, which from its style and the building methods used can be attributed to the second half of the thirteenth century; the Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī mausoleum, which from the same considerations can be attributed to the very beginning of the thirteenth century; and that of the wife of ẖutluḡ Timur, Turā Beg Khānim, the finest and most richly decorated of all, built during the first half of the

<sup>43</sup> A. ĪU. ĪAkubovskii, "On the Origin of the Handicraft Industry of Sarāi Berke," *Izvestiia* GAIMK, VIII

(1931), Nos. 2-3, 1-48.

fourteenth century. ĪAkubovskii states that the decoration of this third mausoleum is so remarkable as to warrant the assertion that no similar cupola exists throughout the Muslim world.

During the 1929 expedition to Kunya-Urgench<sup>44</sup> a further study was made of the topography of the ancient town, and measurements were made of the Turā Beg Khanim, Shaikh Sharaf, and Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī mausoleums, the ruins of the caravanserai, and the tombstones in the mausoleum of Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā. At Aḡ-Ḳal'a the archaeological stratum corresponding to the Mongolian period was 3 meters thick, and below it were pre-Mongolian strata. Pottery fragments were collected on the surface.

During his first and second visits to Kunya-Urgench, ĪAkubovskii investigated the group of ruins at Mazlum-Slu and Giaur-Ḳal'a, on the road from Kunya-Urgench to Khojeili.<sup>45</sup> These represent the remains of the town of Mizdākhkhān, the first records of which are to be found in Arabian geographical literature of the tenth century (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Muḡaddasī).

The ruins of the Giaur-Ḳal'a fortress occupied the western part of Mizdākhkhān. In the southern part of the fortress was a citadel, 70 by 70 meters, surrounded by a clay wall. This edifice (*Fig. 17*) was remarkable for the goffered finish of the outside of its walls, formed by a row of closely packed half columns, similar to that of the walls of the Rabāṭ-i Malik near Kermine (Karmīniya). ĪAkubovskii believes that this citadel must have been built not earlier than the tenth century A.D.

On a hill 1 kilometer to the west of the Giaur-Ḳal'a fortress was a cemetery with a mausoleum known to the local inhabitants as Mazlum-Slu. The area between the fortress and the necropolis, which was covered with drift sand, appeared, from the characteristic fragments of pottery found there, to be the site of Mizdākhkhān of Mongol times.

The inside of the Mazlum-Slu mausoleum was ornamented with turquoise tiles. Although it differs in some respects from other Central Asiatic monuments, it is nevertheless very close stylistically to the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century monuments of Kunya-Urgench. Two tombstones inside the mausoleum were decorated with magnificent tiles bearing Persian verses. In the immediate neighborhood were ruins of another mausoleum, built of unbaked bricks and faced with baked bricks, belonging to the twelfth or thirteenth century. A large stone vessel on the mound was decorated with various kinds of ornamentation and an inscription bearing the date 722 H. (1322 A.D.).

The 1934 expedition of GAIMK (M. V. Voevodskii, leader, assisted by A. A. Potapov and A. I. Terenozhkin) investigated the village of Pitniak, the towns of Hazār-Asp and Khiva, and the ruins of Zamakhshar.

<sup>44</sup> "Investigation No. 119," Archives GAIMK, unpublished ms.

<sup>45</sup> A. ĪŪ. ĪAkubovskii, "The Town of Mizdākhkhān," *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov, Akademiia Nauk S.S.S.R.*,

V (1930), 551-81; A. Nekrasov, "Inscriptions on Tombstones of Mazlum-Slu Mausoleum at Mizdākhkhān," *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov, Akademiia Nauk S.S.S.R.*, V (1930), 583-88.



At Hazār-Asp, mentioned by tenth-century Arab geographers, the fortifications were investigated. They showed traces of frequent reconstruction at different periods. The principal building was the Dīv-Salgan, or Ḥaḍrat Sulaimān, fortress, a rectangular structure with its sides facing the points of the compass. It was surrounded on three sides by a broad moat, filled with water. The fortress was 336 meters long from east to west and 330 meters wide. The gates were in the middle of the southern wall. The clay-built walls, with their semicircular turrets, were on a very high, thick rampart. As these walls were built at the end of the eighteenth century and were thoroughly repaired in the middle of the nineteenth century they are in an excellent state of preservation. The lower wall was 8 meters in height, and the upper walls were 4.5 meters high. The turrets were 30 to 40 meters apart.

The Dīv-Salgan fortress is abutted on the south by a half-ruined clay-built wall of irregular shape, forming part of the fortress known as Yangi-Kurgan, which can hardly have been built earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The most ancient part of the Hazār-Asp fortress is the southeastern corner of the rectangular Dīv-Salgan fortress, apparently the remains of the ancient citadel called Sulaimān Tappa. It is 30 meters long from east to west, 25 meters wide, and 7 meters high. It is clay-built and, like the Mizdākhkhan citadel, has façades with massive half columns.

Near the village of Aḳ-Darband, several kilometers northwest of Khiva, in a district covered with smooth sand dunes, the ruins of an ancient agricultural settlement without fortifications were found. The remains of clay buildings were evident, as well as those of irrigation canals and ancient roads with the tracks left by heavy-wheeled carts ('arrāba). On the surface, baked bricks, large pots, small glazed and unglazed potsherds, and fragments of glass vessels were found. From a study of the pottery this settlement was attributed to the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era.

The ruins of Zamakhshar, 30 kilometers from Tashaus, stand on drifted sand, which has covered a great part of the neighborhood and in some places hidden the walls.

Zamakhshar, covering an area of 18 hectares, was surrounded by a wall with the appearance of an irregular polyhedron. The walls, 7 to 11 meters high, were constructed of clay blocks, in the same manner as was employed with large stones, and were built on a low, massive rampart, parallel to which was a moat. In some places they were preserved. At intervals of 30 to 40 meters there were semicircular turrets, and between them, at a distance of 10 to 15 meters from the walls, were round turrets, joined to the walls by special clay-built passages and drawbridges. The gates, which had a complicated and interesting system of defense, were in the middle of the southern wall and in the northern corner of the town. The walls and turrets are attributed to the eleventh or the twelfth century, but in some places they showed signs of having been repaired in the fourteenth century. Outside, along the walls, were the foundations of other city walls and ninth- and tenth-century turrets, also built of clay blocks. Inside the town no buildings remained. Everywhere on the surface numerous fragments of baked bricks were found, revealing the fact that there had been many fine buildings in Zamakhshar. Fragments of glazed and unglazed pottery, stone cauldrons, glass vessels, and other household

objects were excavated. The location of the town reservoirs, the market place, the cemetery, the potters' quarter, and the dwellings of copper workers and smiths were identified, as well as the site of furnaces for firing glazed and unglazed pottery, children's toys, and various earthenware objects. In latrine pits valuable evidence of the crops grown in this agricultural area was obtained. In the humus of the latrines the seeds of millet (*djugara*), grapes, melons, watermelons, apricots, and peaches were well preserved.

For some distance around *Zamakhshar* there were remains of an agricultural suburb consisting of large and small individual properties. Near the eastern wall an ancient clay-built dovecot had been preserved.

From the data gathered by the expedition three stages in the life of the town can be determined: (1) a stage prior to the tenth century, (2) one from the tenth to the thirteenth century, and (3) one from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. To the first period belong handmade earthenware vessels, some of which are covered with inscriptions, and clay alabaster statuettes, representing men in long dresses. The second period is characterized by pottery with a white glaze and inscription in brown paint, with various kinds of ornamentation, and with imitations of Kufic inscriptions. The copper coins found in the ruins of the town, minted in Khwarazm under Khwarazm-Shah Muhammad b. Tekesh (1200-1220), belong to the end of this period. The third period is characterized by glazed clay pottery, such as that found in the upper levels of the ruins of Kunya-Urgench.

Five kilometers to the southeast of *Zamakhshar* the expedition investigated the ruins of a large agricultural settlement with the remains of a rectangular fortress, 120 by 10 meters. The walls, built of clay blocks, had fallen into decay. Only one corner, with a polygonal turret, was well preserved. The walls were 6.2 meters high and 1.7 meters thick. The gates were in the middle of the north wall. Not far from the fortress was an ancient clay dovecot, built to collect guano. Among the mounds formed by the ruined clay buildings inside the fortress and beyond its walls many small fragments of eleventh- and twelfth-century pottery were found.

In Khiva the city fortifications had consisted of three principal components: the walls of the *rabad*, the *shahristān*, and the *kunya-ark*. The fortifications, apart from the citadel, belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The walls of the citadel were built of large clay blocks; this indicates that they were constructed during pre-Mongolian times or shortly thereafter.

In several places inside the rampart, almost immediately under the walls of the modern *shahristān*, the remains of ancient walls and turrets built of clay blocks were uncovered. A number of objects found in the masonry of these walls showed that they were built in the ninth or the tenth century A.D. As the ramparts of the modern *shahristān* were almost uniform throughout their length, it may be concluded that they correspond to the walls of Khiva during the tenth century, when Khiva was first mentioned by the Arabian geographers. The *shahristān* of Khiva is 650 meters long and 400 meters wide. The arrangement of the ramparts enables one to assume that those of the *Dīv-Salgan* fortress at *Hazār-Asp* were similar. These ramparts probably represent the fortifications that were added to the town between the tenth and twelfth centuries.



Three and one-half kilometers to the south of Zamakhshar the two small fortifications of Ҷарaul-Ҷал'а and Gulyam-Ҷал'а were discovered. The former was a square mound, 10 meters high and with sides of 60 meters, surrounded by badly ruined clay-built walls, without turrets. In the center of the courtyard of the fortress stood a massive tower, 6.5 meters in diameter and 6 meters in height, built of clay blocks. In the hollows of the courtyard were large vessels which held the water supply for the garrison. To the north of the fortress, at a distance of 60 to 70 meters, a coppersmith's workshop was found.

Gulyam-Ҷал'а, built on a similar plan, was in a worse state of preservation. The courtyard had the appearance of a square plateau. It was 7 meters high and had sides 30 meters in length, along which remnants of walls had been preserved. In the middle of the fortress stood a high, massive, cylindrical tower, built of clay blocks. It was 7 meters high and 5 meters in diameter. Here, as at Ҷарaul-Ҷал'а, large earthen pots protruded from the tower. At the ruins of Gulyam-Ҷал'а, besides pottery fragments, a few pieces of querns were found. The shards from both fortresses were unglazed and handmade, and some were colored red. Comparative data indicate that these two fortresses were built during the period from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. These fortresses are interesting because they belong to a group of little-described circular fortifications.

Apart from ancient towns and villages the expedition made a special study of a number of town and village fortifications of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, namely those of Hazār-Asp, Khiva, Tashaus, Ghāzavat, and Aқ-Darband. The data gathered from these fortresses, in themselves of great importance in studying the technique of fort construction and its progress in the later life of Khwarazm, throw light on ancient methods of fortification.

At Khiva, in the cathedral mosque, an eighteenth-century building, the expedition studied twenty-four wooden columns which came, according to tradition, from the mosque of Kāth, the ancient capital of Khwarazm.<sup>46</sup> The columns, as far as their main features were concerned, were in the same style as the stone columns in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazak S.S.R., to be described, and the wooden column from the village of Oburdān in the Tajik S.S.R. They were covered with rich and varied carving, inscriptions from the Koran, and notes by the architects. All these columns are not contemporaneous, but Terenozhkin states with confidence that they were all made between the twelfth and the sixteenth century.

#### THE SOUTHERN PART OF KAZAK S. S. R. AND THE NORTHERN PART OF KIRGHIZ S. S. R.

As the histories of these two regions have many common features, the results of archaeological investigations in them will be considered together.

In 1923 P. P. Ivanov carried out an archaeological investigation near Dmitrievskoe, on the upper reaches of the river Talas in the Kirghiz S.S.R.<sup>47</sup> He investigated the ruins of the

<sup>46</sup> Deniké, *op. cit.*, Figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>47</sup> A. I. Mironov, "Organizational, Scientific, and

Practical Work of the Middle Asiatic Committee (formerly TURKEMENSTARIS) for the Preservation of

town now known as Aḳ Tappa and examined the stone column found in these ruins in 1917, and the Manas mausoleum.

During the same year V. D. Gorodetskiĭ investigated the ancient fortress in the village of Staro-Pokrovskoe, in the Frunze district, and the Burana tower in the Toḳmaḳ district of the Kirghiz S. S. R.<sup>48</sup> In 1925 Gorodetskiĭ and E. A. Schmidt investigated the banks of the river Chu and the remains of the towns on Taraigyr and Koisu, at the western extremity of Issyk-Kul,<sup>49</sup> also in the Kirghiz S. S. R.

In the Kazak S. S. R., B. P. Deniké and M. M. Loginov investigated the twelfth-century mausoleum of 'Ā'isha-Bābā, near the town of Mirzoyan (formerly Awliyā-Atā), and the fourteenth-century Aḥmad Yasawī mosque, in the town of Turkestan.

Masson investigated ruins near Sairām in the Chimbent district and near Bash-Agoch, the mausoleum of 'Ā'isha-Bābā, and that of Manas, in the Dmitrov district of the Kirghiz S. S. R.<sup>50</sup>

Masson examined the ancient ruins at Mirzoyan in 1927. On the basis of archaeological and historical records he established that this was the site of the sixth-century town of Ṭarāz. He determined the boundaries of the thickly populated districts and of the suburbs, which in ancient times were surrounded by a triple ring of walls. He also found the position of the stone bridge across the river Talas, mentioned in the written records of the thirteenth century, and discovered remains of pottery workshops, an underground passage, and the position of Zoroastrian, Nestorian, and Muslim cemeteries. Many samples of pottery and building materials were collected.

Masson also made a journey through the valley of the upper reaches of the river Talas, from Aleksandrovka to Dmitrievskoe, in order to collect information concerning the history of mining.<sup>51</sup> Having located the site of ancient Ṭarāz, he tried to identify the remains of the ancient towns he found along the Talas Valley with those mentioned by the Arabian geographers. He regards the town of *Shildjī* as corresponding to the ruins of Kuntu-Mish, to the north of the Bolshaġa Kapka Pass; the town of Sus, to the ruins of Sadir-Kurgan, near Aleksandrovka, south of the Bolshaġa Kapka Pass; the town of Kul, to Aḳ Tappa, near Orlovka; and the town of Tekabet, to Aḳ Tappa, near Dmitrievskoe. The surface material taken from the ruins of these towns showed that metal working was highly developed. The chief smelters were concentrated at Sadir-Kurgan.<sup>52</sup> The mining and smelting of ores were

Ancient Monuments and Art Relics During the Five Years of Its Existence," *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, I (1926), 29.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> I. I. Umnġakov, "The Archaeological and Restoration Work of the Middle Asiatic Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Art Relics in

1929," *Izvestiia SREDAZKOMSTARIS*, III (1928), 267.

<sup>51</sup> M. E. Masson, "Results of a Journey Through the Talas Valley to Ascertain Facts Concerning the Mining Industry," *Bull. Middle Asiatic District Geol. Prospecting Admin.*, No. 2 (1930), 35-37.

<sup>52</sup> We follow here the identification of the town of *Shildjī* with the ruins of Sadir-Kurgan by W. Barthold in 1893.



carried out intensively in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but later the industry declined and eventually disappeared altogether.

In the summer of 1927 Masson supervised the repair of the Burana tower,<sup>53</sup> the date of which was found to be the eleventh century, not the twelfth century, as previously supposed. A plan was made of the ruins of the town on which the Burana tower stands. Pottery workshops were found, as well as a Nestorian cemetery, the existence of which was formerly unsuspected. A brick with the figure of a cross was taken from this cemetery.

Terenzhkin carried out archaeological investigations in 1929 along the Chu River from Ҷарболта to the Buam Pass in the Тоқмақ and Frunze districts of the Kirghiz S.S.R. The following year he also investigated the Talas Valley from Dmitrievskoe to Aleksandrovka, in the Kirghiz S.S.R.

In 1936 GAIMK sent A. N. Bernstamm and Terenzhkin on an expedition to examine sites along the middle reaches of the Talas, to the north of the town of Mirzoyan, and in the foothills of the western extremity of the Kirghiz (formerly Aleksandrovskii) range, from Mirzoyan to Merke.

In published articles on the archaeology of the Muslim period in Kirghizia and in Kazak S.S.R., the site most fully treated is that of the ruins at Sairām. Ivanov and Masson both regard these ruins as the remains of the medieval town of Isfīdjāb.

Ivanov visited Sairām on three occasions between 1924 and 1926. He studied the ruins of the *shahristān* and the *rabaḍ* and collected oral reports about the presence of ramparts around the villages (*rustāk*), which in his opinion represent the remains of a wall built by the Samanid Nūḥ ibn Asad in 840 A.D.<sup>54</sup>

Masson notes that at Sairām there are a very large number of mausoleums revered by Muhammadans. The oldest is the mausoleum of Pādīshāh Malik Bābā or Mīr 'Alī Bābā, who lived from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century. Of the Pādīshāh mausoleum only the three cornerstones remain. From the method in which the bricks were laid Masson attributes it to the fifteenth century. A number of mausoleums over local saints, bearing the word "Sairām" or "Isfīdjābī," are of later construction. In the mausoleum of Abū'l-'Azīz Bābā there are four marble tombstones. On one richly ornamented stone are carved the name of the Amīr Ҷāsīm's daughter and that of the son of Khodja Tugha Timur, who died on the 26 Radjab, 827 H. (June 24, 1424 A.D.). Another tombstone belonged to the grave of Mu'min Sultan ibn 'Alī Khan, who died in 1087 H. (1676-77 A.D.). On a third, to a person who died 1090 H., there remains only "خان ابو لامي (الامين؟) خان" A fourth is remarkable for the clearness of the inscription and the beauty of the strip of ornamentation.

In the center of Sairām, on the site of the ancient *shahristān*, is the cathedral mosque of Idrīs Paighāmbar (the prophet Enoch), who is regarded as the founder of Sairām. Near by grows the sacred tree (*Ulmus androssowi* Litw.), the trunk of which has a circumference of

<sup>53</sup> Umnākov, *op. cit.*, 270-71.

<sup>54</sup> P. P. Ivanov, "The Historical Topography of Old

Sairām," عقد الجمان . M. E. Masson, "Old Sairām," *Izvestiia SREDAZHKOMSTARIS*, III (1928), 23-24.

5.15 meters. The most interesting feature about the mosque is the sandstone column which helps to support the roof. The base of this column is formed by a hemisphere surmounted by a flattened sphere. The column rests on the latter, sending down four projections. The height of the fragmentary column is 2.56 meters, and at the top ornamentation and inscription remain. The diameter is 62 centimeters. There are three inscriptions on the column in beautifully formed Kufic characters. The lower inscription contains the words محمد رسول الله and the middle inscription الله الحمد لله ولا اله الا الله. From the style of ornamentation and the inscription Masson attributes the column to the tenth or the eleventh century.

The fortress, in the center of which is a cathedral mosque, is rectangular, with rounded corners the sides of which face the points of the compass. It is on a height of 5 to 11 meters above the surrounding country. Inside, near the gates, are the town reservoirs. The area of the *shahristān* is 28 hectares. Among the ruins several ancient latrine pits and a potter's furnace, both containing eleventh- to twelfth-century glazed potsherds, were found. Ivanov and Masson followed the ramparts in the neighborhood of Sairām from the walls of the *rabaḍ* and found that they were 18 kilometers in length, 1.5 meters high, and 10 meters thick. At a distance of 5.5 kilometers from the wall of the *rabaḍ* (7.5 kilometers from the *shahristān*) Masson discovered the wall of the *rustāk* Isfīdjāb, to which Ivanov refers. This wall is 9 meters thick and 1.3 meters high.

The ruins at Sairām may be compared with those of Aḳ Tappa, near Dmitrievskoe. Ivanov regards Aḳ Tappa as the remains of a large medieval town of the Kirghiz S. S. R.<sup>55</sup>

The central part of the ruins is on the right bank of the river Talas opposite Dmitrievskoe. Here is a large mound of irregular polygonal shape. The mound is 4 to 8 meters high and 350 to 400 meters wide. In its northeastern corner is the citadel, which forms a high mound. On the main mound and in the neighborhood are the remains of numerous ruined buildings.<sup>56</sup> These ruins, surrounded by an earthen wall corresponding to the wall of the *rabaḍ*, which continues not only on the right but also on the left bank, embrace the whole territory of the village of Dmitrievskoe.

Of the many interesting finds in the Aḳ Tappa ruins, Ivanov mentions a collection of silver coins found in 1928. This hoard was composed of 568 coins of the Čaghatāi khans of the fourteenth century (Kazan, Buyān-Ḳulī, etc.).

The stone column found in 1917 on the Aḳ Tappa ruins is of the same type as the one found at Sairām, which has been described. It has been preserved entirely and is 4.48 meters high and 0.53 meters in diameter. The lower part is ornamented but bears no inscription. As a parallel to this column Ivanov published a description of another stone column found in 1896 on the ruins near Besh Agach, south of Mirzoyan.

<sup>55</sup> P. P. Ivanov, "On the Ancient Remains in the Upper Reaches of the River Talas," *S. F. Ol'denburgu, K. 50—letiiū nauchno-obshchestvennoi deiatel'nosti, 1882-1932* ["S. F. Oldenburg: A Jubilee Collection of Pa-

pers"], *Akademiā Nauk, Leningrad, S.S.S.R.*, 1934, pp. 240-51.

<sup>56</sup> This mound apparently corresponds to the *shahristān* of the town.



According to Ivanov's description the so-called Manas mausoleum has the appearance of a small cupolaed erection of the portal type. The building is constructed of baked bricks. The portal and gates are faced with richly ornamented terra-cotta tiles and bear two strips of Arabic inscriptions, parts of which have crumbled away. According to immemorial tradition, Ivanov writes, here is buried not Manas, the epic hero of Kirghizia, but the daughter of some high-born personage.<sup>57</sup> To the northeast of Aḵ Tappa in the Sharkaratam Pass Ivanov examined the site of an ancient cemetery containing inhumations of the ossuary type and large vessels.

In 1929, on the river Chu, Terenozhkin<sup>58</sup> examined Muslim tumuli, a burial ground with ossuaries, and a number of towns and settlements, many of which arose in the fourth or the fifth century but flourished principally from the tenth to the twelfth century, that is to say, during the Ḳarākhānid period. The towns and the agricultural settlements in the Chu Valley disappeared about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Among the ruins of towns the most interesting are those near the village of Novo-Nikolaevsk, the Sintash ruins near ĪŪr'evka, the town ruins with the Burana tower, the ruins near the village of Krasnaĭa Rechka, and the remains of a settlement near Ḳarājikach, 10 to 12 kilometers southeast of Frunze.

The ruins near the village of Krasnaĭa Rechka are undoubtedly those of a large town. The densely populated section of the town occupied a space 3 kilometers long. In the center of the ruins are the steep ramparts of the large citadel, 12 to 14 meters high and with sides 500 meters long. The fortress had four gates. It may be assumed that this was the site of the famous medieval town of Sūyāb. The ruins at Novo-Nikolaevsk represent the remains of a large settlement in the middle of which was a fortress (turtkul). The rectangular fortress is surrounded by marshes. It is 260 meters from east to west, 233 meters from north to south, and the height of the walls on the outside is 9 meters. In the centers of the northern and southern walls were gates. Over the middle of the western wall are the remains of a square tower, of unbaked bricks. On the surface of the fortress and in the mounds formed by clay buildings in the neighborhood, fragments of glazed pottery with brown painting, peculiar "clay tablets" with carved floral designs, and many fragments of unglazed pottery were found. This site was inhabited about the ninth or the tenth century A.D.

The Sintash ruins near ĪŪr'evka occupy an area about 500 meters in length. In many places mounds mark the ruins of ancient clay buildings, blocks of hewn stone, and numerous

<sup>57</sup> From the inscription on the mausoleum given by V. V. Kallaur, W. Barthold has given the following opinion: "The monument is the tomb of a woman كيرك خاتون (Kirek or Kaizik *khātūn*) the daughter of some Amīr: It is impossible to fix the date of the monument, as only the first word أربع (four) of the date remains." See *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Russk. Arkeol. Obschestva*, XII (1899), Protokoly, IV-V. From the

stylistic peculiarities of the monument and the presence in the inscriptions of the word خاتون it can be attributed to the fourteenth century.

<sup>58</sup> A. I. Terenozhkin, "Archaeological Expeditions Along the River Chu in 1929," *Problemy Istorii Dokaipitalisticheskikh Obschestv* ["Problems of the History of the Precapitalist Societies"], GAIMK, Nos. 5-6 (1935), 138-50.

fragments of pottery. Two granite columns, similar to those from Sairām and the Dmitrievskoe Aḵ Tappa, but more coarsely made and without ornamentation, were found. At Sintash small and large millstones, querns, and stone mortars were frequently found. Another interesting object was a tortoise carved from granite.

Near ẖarājikach the remains of an unfortified settlement of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century occupies an area 600 meters square. On a large mound in the center of the ruins the fragments of a fine potsherd covered with a bright green and blue glaze were collected. It may be that a Muslim mosque, a Buddhist temple, or a Nestorian church stood on this site. The unglazed pottery, fragments of which were obtained in large quantities, is ornamented with arches and rosettes. The glazed pottery, made from white China clay, is covered with designs in dark colors composed of geometric figures, with a white or blue transparent glaze.

As the reports of the 1936 expedition of the State Academy to southern Kazak S.S.R. have not yet been published, we give here only a description of the archaeological remains examined by Terenozhkin in this area.

The center of attention was the ruins of the town of ẖarāz, which, according to the opinion of Masson,<sup>59</sup> stood on the site of Mirzoyan. The facts collected confirm this hypothesis. The general plan of ẖarāz is very similar to that of the Aḵ Tappa ruins near Dmitrievskoe and the town of Isfīdjāb. The central part, comprising the shahristān, forms a mound 5 or 6 meters high, 430 meters long, and 360 meters wide. It is surrounded by the walls of the rabaḍ.

Preliminary excavations on the shahristān disclosed a portion of the courtyard, two wells, and the corner of a dwelling house of the eleventh or twelfth century. In the wells and on the surface of the courtyard were many glazed vessels with various kinds of ornamentations and designs imitating Kufic writing, numerous unglazed vessels made with and without the potter's wheel, and various other household articles, including iron knives, beads, and toilet tweezers. Among the finds one group of vessels, made without a potter's wheel, are of exceptional interest. As regards pottery technique these are almost identical with the vessels of the Tripolje culture, previously described, found at Afrāsiyāb by Viātkin. They differ only in that they are decorated with strips of clay instead of with painting. One jug of this type and the upper part of a glazed lamp (čirāgh) with two spouts are modeled in the form of human busts.

In addition to the ruins of ẖarāz the expedition investigated those of the medieval town near Lugovoe,<sup>60</sup> the ruins of Merke, on the site of which stands the modern town, and the ruins of Sadir-Kurgan, near Aleksandrovskoe, south of Mirzoyan. The planning of all the towns enumerated was similar to that of Isfīdjāb.

At Sadir-Kurgan buttresses in the walls and gates with turrets of unbaked brick were particularly well preserved. The citadel, with the small wall of the encircling shahristān, had

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> Barthold suggests that the ruins at Lugovoe correspond to the town of ẖulān referred to by the Arab

geographers of the tenth century. Sadir-Kurgan according to Barthold corresponds to the medieval town of Shildjī.



a very fine appearance. The large open spaces inside the walls of the rabad were covered with slag to a depth of 1.15 meters. From written records it is known that in the time of the *Qarā-khānids* the town of *Shildjī* was famous for its silver mines. To judge from the slag here it would seem that ores were smelted not only at the mines but also in the town itself. Thirteen tappas were noted en route. In external appearance these do not differ from similar mounds in the neighborhood of Tashkent along the river *Zarafshān* and in *Farghāna*. The highest of the tappas investigated reached 11 meters, and the average height of the others was 4 to 6 meters, the average length, 100 to 250 meters, and the average width, 80 to 200 meters. From surface finds and excavations the mounds near Lugovoe and at Chul Tappa, near *Novaia Ivanovka*, appear to be the remains of agricultural settlements which arose during the fifth or the sixth century and disappeared in the twelfth or the thirteenth century. Thus, side by side with questions of medieval urban civilization in Central Asia, light is now being thrown on questions of primitive agriculture and the development of animal husbandry. Remains of ancient agricultural settlements of the tappa type are found in smaller numbers and at greater intervals east of *Mirzoyan*. After *Merke* they disappear and do not occur in the *Chu Valley*, nor are they found on the *Talas River* above *Aleksandrovkoe*.

The geographical distribution of the archaeological remains gives striking confirmation to the statements by *Narshakhī*, in his history of *Bokhara*, as to the close political and economic connections between the *Ṭarāz* region and the inner parts of *Mā warā'l-Nahr*. Among ninth- to thirteenth-century ruins along the river *Talas* and in the foothills of the *Kirghiz* mountains, of particular importance were those of five large and nine small fortresses. A large fortress was usually rectangular, and the decayed walls had formed a ridge, with mounds marking the ruined turrets. There had been a gate in the middle of one or two of the sides. The height of the wall was 1.5 to 2.5 meters, the width 220 to 240 meters, and the length 250 to 400 meters. Inside the ruins of these fortresses few traces of ancient buildings remained, and the archaeological deposit was very thin. The majority of the large fortresses were situated along the northern boundaries of the *Talas Valley*, which was irrigated and cultivated in ancient times. From their position and size one may suppose that they served as military camps, defending the *Ṭarāz* region from external enemies. The most northerly of these fortresses was that of *Okh-Khum*. The ruins of this fortress bear witness to its great size and military strength. Its most remarkable feature was its complicated system of ramparts, composed of clay walls, which have been preserved and which show how the fortress was besieged and captured by some powerful enemy. The archaeological material collected on the ruins of *Okh-Khum* belongs to the eleventh or the twelfth century. It is possible that the fortress fell under the onslaught of the *Qara Khitāi* or the *Mongolians*.

The remains of the small fortresses are quadrangular, with turret mounds at the corners and in the middle of the walls. In general, the only gate was in the middle of one of the walls. The length of the sides was from 70 to 100 meters and the height of the walls from 1 to 1.5 meters. A study of the plan and elevation of such fortresses has shown that they had exactly the same construction and therefore the same purpose as modern caravanserais. Their purpose

is also explained by their distribution along the old caravan route from Ṭarāz to Issyk-Kul. They are not found anywhere off the great ancient highways.

In 1927 Īakubovskii investigated the ruins of Sighnāk, a large medieval town on the Sir Darya in the Kazak S.S.R.<sup>61</sup> According to Īakubovskii's written records the town is known to have existed from the end of the tenth century. Under the Mongolians it became the capital of the White Horde, and later, the burial place of the Uzbek and the Kazak khans of the steppes. The town was apparently abandoned at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The principal part of Sighnāk is surrounded by a quadrangular rampart 6 meters high, with steep sides extending a total length of 1,260 meters. There was only one gate, and it was in the middle of the southern wall. Outside this main fortress another rampart is visible on the east, north, and west. Īakubovskii states that this outer wall represents the pre-Mongolian fortifications and that the large quadrangular fortress is the part of the town rebuilt at the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the east and southeast of the main fortress was a large cemetery extending two-thirds of a kilometer. The surface inside the fortress was covered with mounds marking the ruins of former clay and brick buildings. Everywhere fragments of glazed and unglazed pottery from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were found. Two buildings have been especially well preserved. One of these is a large structure described as a mausoleum or the hospice of a shaikh of the fourteenth century, thought to have been one of the buildings erected by Urūs Khan. The other is a mausoleum built during the first half of the fifteenth or the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

Among the architectural fragments is an interesting sculptured terra-cotta half column with glaze, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, as well as some fragments of carved terra-cotta bricks of the eleventh or the twelfth century. Thirteen kilometers from the site of Sighnāk is the mausoleum of Kök-Kesen, which fell into ruins in 1914. At present only one corner of this monument remains. The building was formerly decorated with glazed tiles and light blue mosaic with dark blue, white, yellow, and red insets.

Īakubovskii is of the opinion that Kök-Kesen was built in the fifteenth century and that this mausoleum and the others found in the neighborhood were the burial places of the Uzbek khans.

In concluding this account<sup>62</sup> of the archaeological investigations of the medieval remains in Central Asia, Terenozhkin points out that the principal work lies still ahead. Throughout the greater part of the five Central Asiatic republics many archaeological sites have been registered and studied. In addition to the excavation of objects, the composition and planning of the ancient towns, settlements, villages, castles, fortresses, and necropolises have been ascertained. Maps are being made of archaeological sites. The lines along which civilization has developed are being traced, and the main problems for future archaeological work are being disclosed.

<sup>61</sup> A. ĪU. Īakubovskii, "The Ruins of Sighnāk (Sug-nak)," *Soobshcheniâ GAIMK*, II (1929), 123-59.

<sup>62</sup> Dr. Ettinghausen kindly checked some of the Arabic names and texts.



## NOTES

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRACKET SUPPORT IN TURKISH DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN ISTANBUL

The oldest Turkish houses standing in Istanbul today have thick masonry walls, heavily barred windows, and iron doors. The street façade of each of these houses is of either dressed stone or alternate layers of stone and brick, with two or three superimposed rows of bricks equal in width to one layer of stone. The first floor projects from the wall of the ground floor, and the second floor, when one exists, projects from the wall of the first. The projecting upper floors are supported by curved stone brackets, which are the most distinctive features of the street façades of these houses.

Contemporary in date of construction with the oldest stone houses of Istanbul are some wooden houses built in Anatolia and Rumeli upon ruined Byzantine walls and towers. Each such ruin offered to a prospective Turkish builder a ready-made acropolis upon which to construct his home. Of course its shape was ill suited for the foundation of a house, but this fault was remedied by constructing the walls of the house beyond the walls of the foundation and by supporting them with curved wooden brackets. These brackets are longer and bolder in line than the corbels of the Istanbul houses, and they, therefore, are even more arresting than their stone counterparts.

In Istanbul there are today no Turkish wooden houses standing upon high foundations of Byzantine towers, but the principle of a high stone foundation was followed by builders of wooden houses in the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a few of these still can be seen. Their masonry and wood foundations rise ten or more feet above the ground level, and from the top of this base spring the wooden brackets which

support the projecting upper floors. The wooden houses of this period frequently were constructed with a low ceiling entresol between the ground floor and the first floor, the entresol being used during the cold weather and the first floor during the remainder of the year. The first floor in these houses often had two tiers of windows. The lower tier, equipped with shutters which permitted the lodgers to see without being seen, admitted air but little light. The upper tier lacked the shutters but was made of panes of colored glass, set in plaster, through which a softened light entered the rooms. In houses of this type the brackets usually extended from the top of the foundation across the entire entresol to the base of the walls of the first floor. The brackets on these houses are of massive curved timbers, and their strength adds a boldness to the façades which gives them distinction.

The bracket support became an established characteristic of the Turkish houses built after the conquest of Istanbul, and it remained a feature in new buildings until the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, during this period the bracket underwent a series of changes in form. In the stone houses of the Fanâr, which are credited with being similar in design to their Byzantine predecessors, and in the brick and stone houses of Galata, which in some instances are scarcely distinguishable from their Genoese neighbors, the bracket is in the form of a stone support that has been made more decorative by cutting in curves. A comparison of these brackets shows that the curves appear to have been made in increased number in direct proportion to the distance that the walls of the first floor are projected beyond those of the ground floor. In the wooden houses of Istanbul and the villages of the Bosphorus the bracket is always a single wooden beam. On the houses built in the sixteenth and seven-



FIG. 1.—HOUSE OF SULTAN MURAD, BRUSSA, FIFTEENTH CENTURY





FIG. 2.—HOUSE OF SHAIKH HAMD ALLĀH, CALLIGRAPHER OF  
SULTAN BAYAZID II, STAMBUL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY



FIG. 3.—HOUSE IN STAMBUL, STUCCO AND WOOD, EIGHTEENTH  
CENTURY



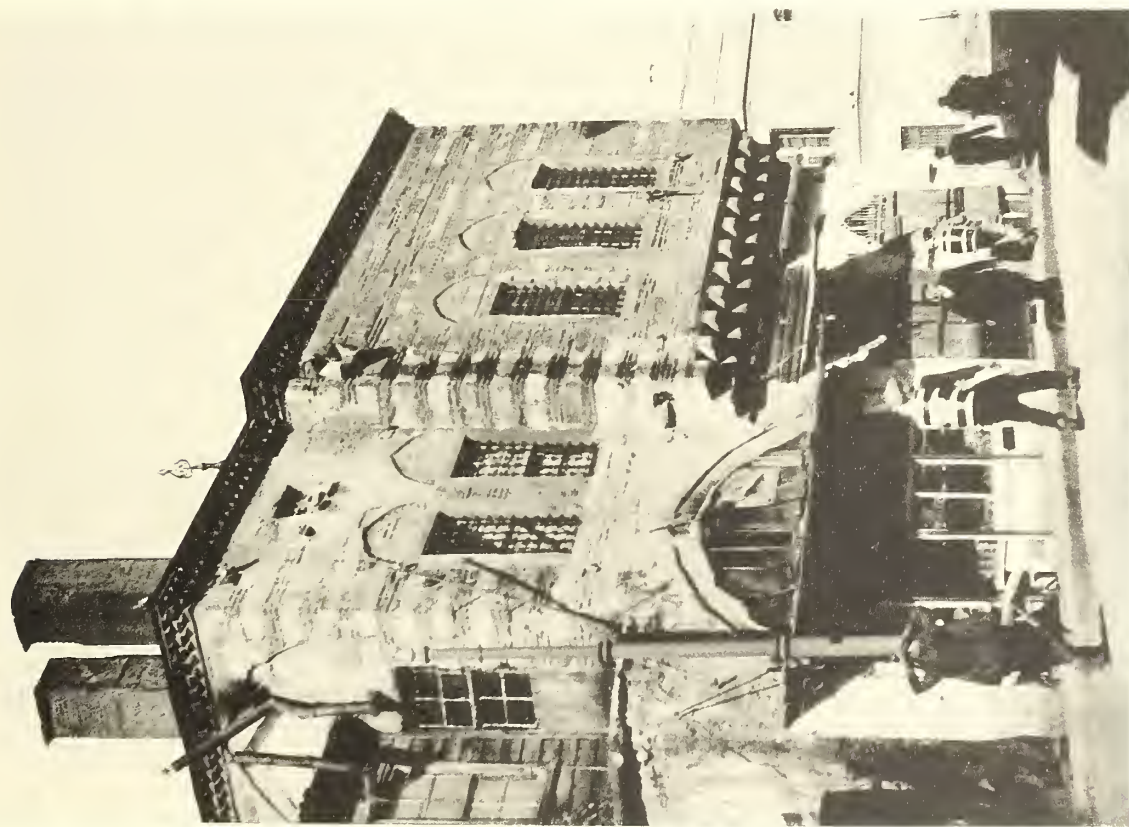


FIG. 4—HOUSE IN GALATA, STONE AND BRICK, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

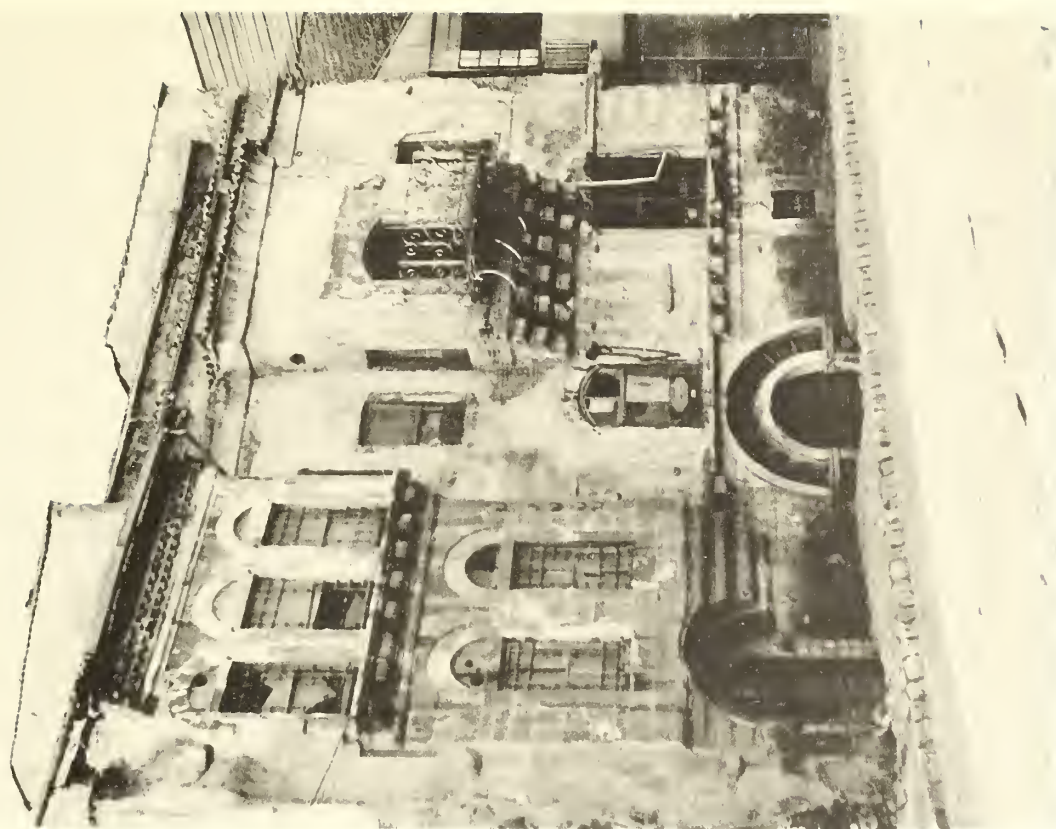


FIG. 5—HOUSES IN THE FANÂR, STONE AND BRICK  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (No. 272 DATED 1656 A.D.)





FIG. 6—HOUSE IN STAMBUL, MASONRY AND WOOD  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

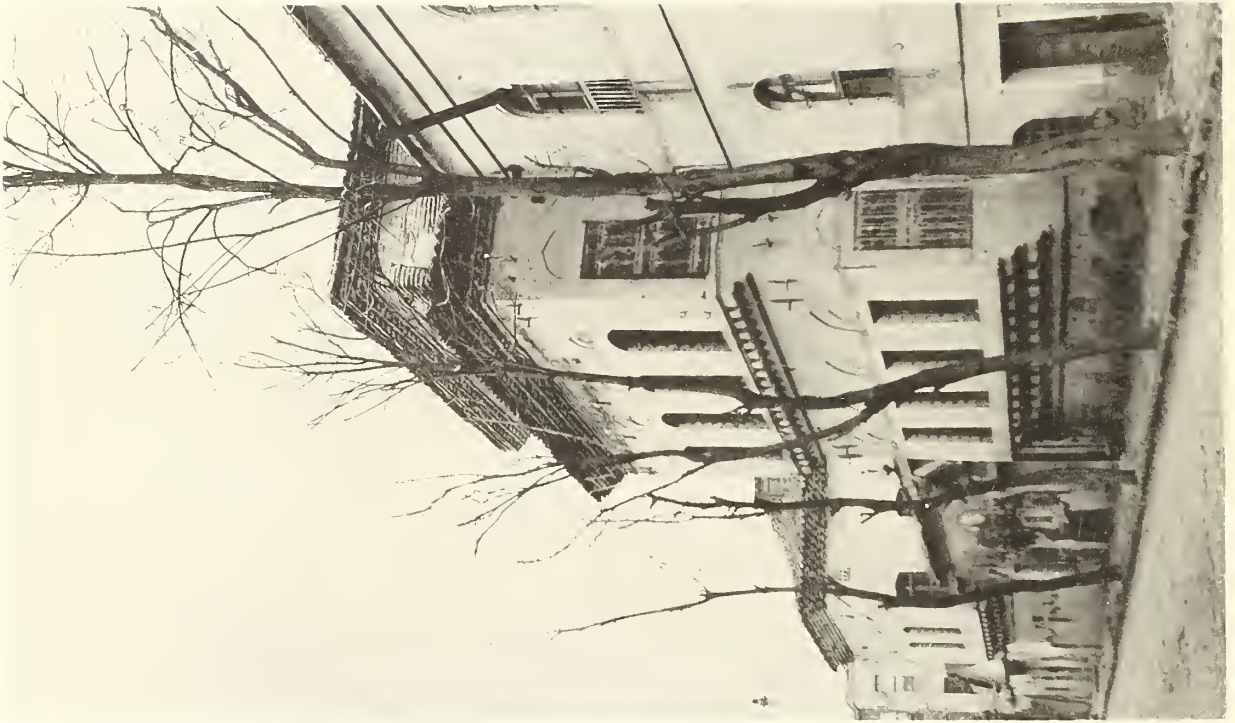


FIG. 7—HOUSE IN THE FANÂR, STONE AND BRICK  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (RESTORED 1855)





FIG. 8—YALI OF HUSAIN PASHA KÖPRÜLÜ NEAR ANADOLİ HİŞÂR, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

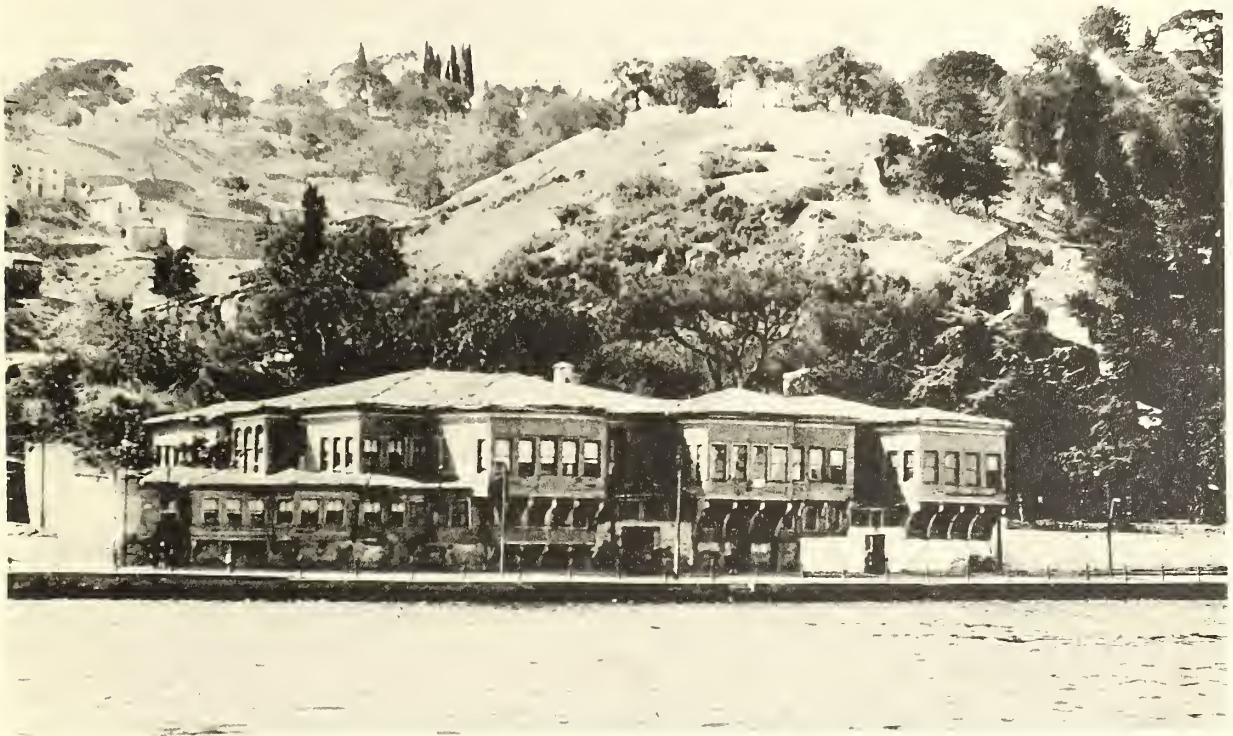


FIG. 9—KONAĞ AT ARNAUTKÖİ, WOOD, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY





FIG. 10—KIOSK OF SULTAN OTHMAN III (1754-57), STAMBUL, OLD SERAI





FIG. 11—HOUSE IN STAMBUL, WOOD, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY



FIG. 12—SELAMLIK OF HOUSE NEAR RUMELI HIŞAR, WOOD AND MASONRY, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY





teenth centuries these beams are unadorned, but in later times an attempt was commonly made to beautify them. Sometimes this took the form of covering them with stucco, thus joining harmoniously a rubble and wood foundation to a wood and stucco first floor. More frequently, however, each bracket was encased in dressed wood, and, even more often, each bracket, with the space between the bracket and the wall, was encased in wood. An example of this in exaggerated form is to be seen on the garden side of the kiosk of Sultan Murād III at the Old Serai.

The origin and reason for the bracket support has been the subject of much speculation. It is a fact, however, that several buildings in Istanbul which antedate the Conquest have enclosed balconies or second floors supported by stone brackets, and that in Greece at Mistra there are Byzantine walls of ruined houses that have upper floors supported by stone brackets which resemble markedly those on the stone houses of the Fanār. But the house of Sultan Murād in Brussa, one of the oldest standing Turkish houses, has no bracket supports, its slightly and irregularly projecting first floor being supported by protruding joists. Thus, although the place and precise date of the first use of the bracket support in Turkish domestic architecture may not be known, there is evidence on record that it was an invention of the days of the Byzantine Empire which was seized upon and adopted extensively in Istanbul by the Turkish conquerors. And from Istanbul its use spread to the provinces and to other Muslim lands.

Several nineteenth-century European travelers in describing the old houses of Istanbul have advanced the theory that the bracket support of projecting upper floors of Turkish houses was built to enable the inhabitants to defend actively the houses against assault. They point out that the windows in the projecting upper floors command a wider field of view than would windows placed in a wall perpendicular to the foundation,

and moreover that these projecting floors give a great amount of usable space for a ground area, and that reduction in size means reduction in vulnerability. The defenders of this theory fail, in the opinion of the writer, to give proper weight to the fact that the inhabitants of the old stone houses of Istanbul in times of civil commotion counted for their security more upon passive resistance than active defense. Indeed history records that they took refuge behind their massive stone walls and heavily barricaded windows, not to emerge therefrom until order was restored in the city. It is suggested, therefore, that the search for the object of the bracket support of projecting upper floors may be conducted more successfully by examining the peaceful periods in the lives of the original dwellers in these houses, rather than by concentrating attention upon the times of violence.

A study of the existing old houses suggests that the bracket support, if not invented, at least was used, for securing regularly shaped rooms where the foundation area was irregular or of a shape ill suited for building perpendicular walls. The Turkish houses built upon Byzantine towers and walls, as previously mentioned, furnish an excellent illustration of the use of the bracket support for this purpose. Also the bracket support of upper floors that project over the street was used effectively in the crowded areas of Istanbul to provide more space for living quarters where the ground area was small. In the country, summer houses were built with upper floors overhanging lower floors, supported of course by brackets, so that the windows in these floors could catch the air and give a wider and pleasanter outlook. In Muslim countries to the south of Asia Minor the projecting upper floors of houses protect passers-by from the torrid sun, and it is possible that in these countries this was a contributing reason for their construction, but there is no evidence known to the writer indicating that the welfare of the populace in Istanbul was



a consideration to builders of houses featuring the bracket support of projecting upper floors.

The photographs reproduced were taken by the writer in Brussa and Istanbul between September, 1928, and October, 1934.

BURTON Y. BERRY

THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF IRANIAN  
ART, 1938

An original proposal to hold a comprehensive exhibition of Iranian art in Paris concurrently with an International Congress on the subject during the course of this summer had unfortunately to be abandoned, but in its place a small exhibition was arranged in two rooms of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Of these one was devoted mainly to the Sasanian period and the other to Islamic painting.

The superb treasures of the Cabinet des Médailles, such as the silver repoussé dish of Khusraw or the cameo of Shāpūr I, formed the nucleus of the former, together with a few loans from private collections, more especially from that of Mr. J. Brummer of New York. They served to give a clear picture of the distinctive character of Sasanian art, though there were but few objects there that were not already familiar. The only exhibits which had not been shown before, in fact, were the finds made during recent excavations at Shāpūr, most spectacular of which was the cast of a stucco niche from one of the rooms of the palace, dated to the reign of Shāpūr I (*Fig. 1*). Its style is distinctly classical, and shows that in early Sasanian times the native Iranian manner was not always uppermost in art.

Other exhibits, made up in the main of pottery and textiles, were of a diverse character. The ceramics, mostly from the Louvre, comprised a number of well-known pieces of the first importance. On seeing them in a new setting a number of the dates which have in the past been proposed seemed hardly possible. No. 278, for instance, a small jug bequeathed to the Louvre by M. Koech-

lin (*Fig. 2*), might almost be Ottoman; it is hardly possible to think of it as Sasanian. A plate from the Alphonse Kann collection, No. 274 (*Fig. 3*), which is assigned to Persia or Asia Minor and to the seventh century in the catalogue, is so akin to a dish of Seljuk date and provenance in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, that Anatolia seems certain as its homeland, and the eleventh century seems more probable than the seventh as its date. The Berlin dish is included among the Byzantine pottery in O. Wulff's catalogue, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1909-11, Teil II, "Mittelalterliche Bildwerke," Pl. XXII, No. 2068); it was found in Lykia, and the fact that it is not closely related to other known Byzantine examples suggests Seljuk as a more likely association.

The textiles were all of them fine in themselves, and they constituted an extremely interesting exhibition of problem pieces, though those which could definitely be termed Iranian were few in number. The finest among them, the glorious eagle stuff from Auxerre (No. 250) and the shroud of St. Siviard from Sens (no number), though they are undoubtedly three of the finest textiles that have ever been woven, are Byzantine, while the great stuff from St. Étienne at Chinon (No. 243, *Fig. 4*) is probably to be assigned to Syria rather than to Iran, though it is impossible to be definite on this matter. The shroud of St. Victor from Sens (No. 239) is more probably Iranian, but it has distinct Byzantine affinities.

Among stuffs of less magnificent proportions, Egyptian fabrics predominated. But a few were definitely Iranian, as for instance the fine silk of Seljuk date with confronted birds from the Acheroff collection (No. 262, *Fig. 5*). An example which is closely akin and which is perhaps rather more generally familiar is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Of the well-known stuffs of debated origin from Antinoë, mostly divided



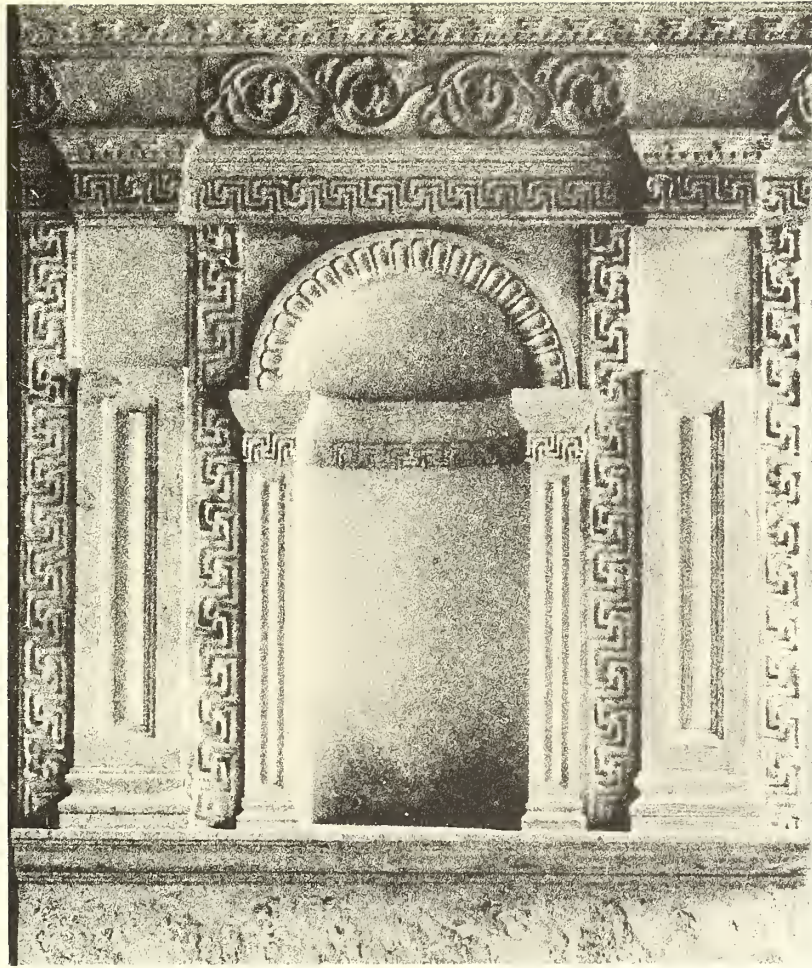


FIG. 1—CAST OF A STUCCO NICHE FROM THE PALACE OF SHĀPŪR I, SHĀPŪR, THIRD CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 2—SMALL GLAZED JUG, EARLY ISLAMIC (?)  
PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE



FIG. 3—GLAZED PLATE, ANATOLIA (?), ELEVENTH  
CENTURY A.D. (?), ALPHONSE KANN  
COLLECTION



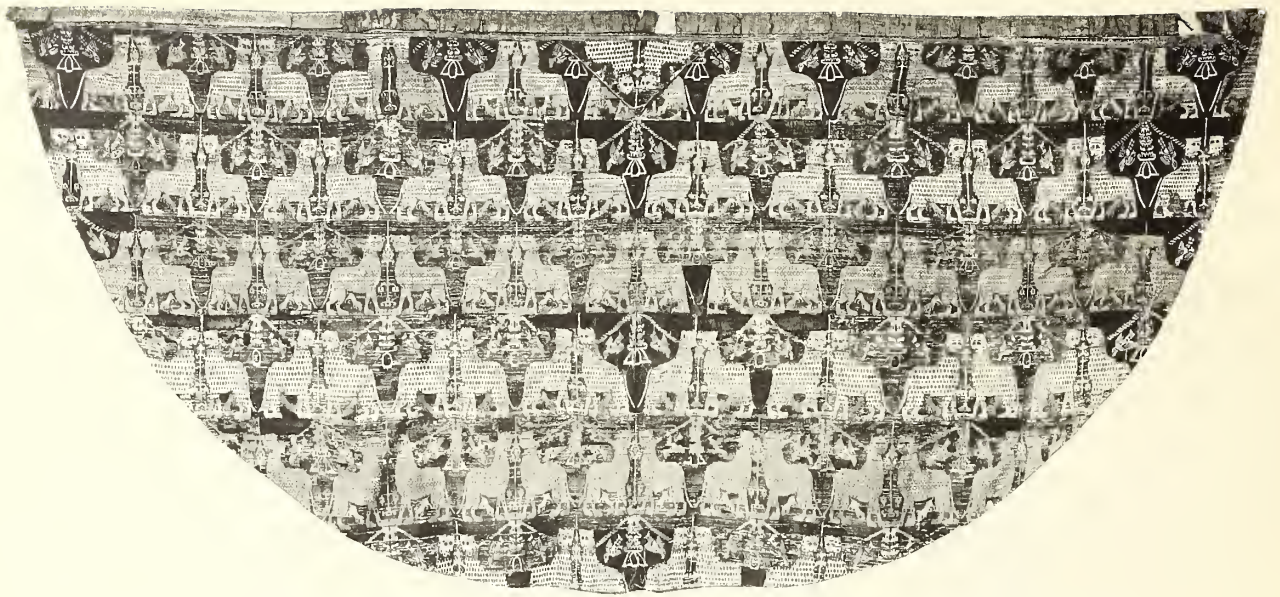


FIG. 4—COPE OF ST. MESME, PROBABLY SYRIAN, TENTH CENTURY A.D., CHINON, ST.-ÉTIENNE

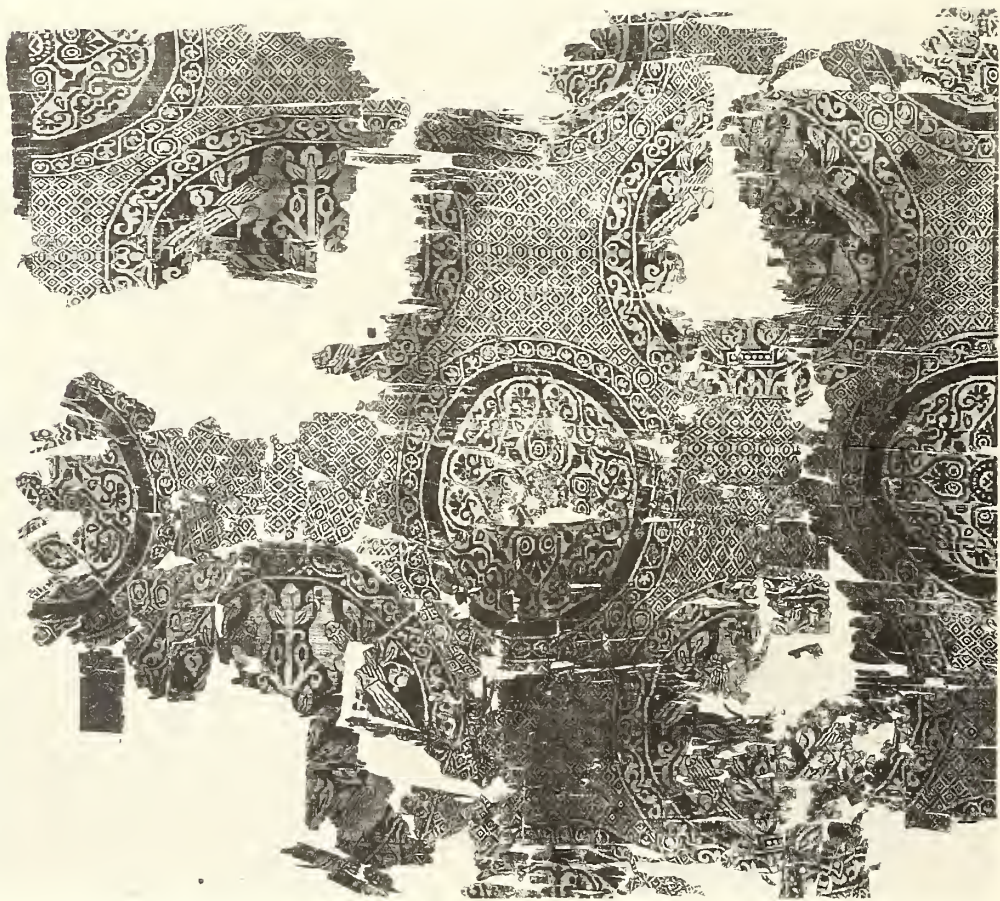


FIG. 5—SILK TEXTILE, PERSIAN, TENTH OR ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D. PARIS, J. ACHEROFF





FIG. 6—ASSEMBLY SCENES, ḤARĪRĪ, *Maḳāmāt*, 1237 A.D. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE





FIG. 7—CARAVAN RESTING AT DAMIETTA, ḤARĪRĪ, *Maḳāmāt*, 1237 A.D., PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



FIG. 8—LITERARY DISCUSSION IN GARDEN NEAR BAGHDAD, ḤARĪRĪ, *Maḳāmāt*, 1237 A.D.  
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE





FIG. 9—DIMNA PAYING COURT TO THE LION, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* ABOUT 1220–30 A.D.  
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

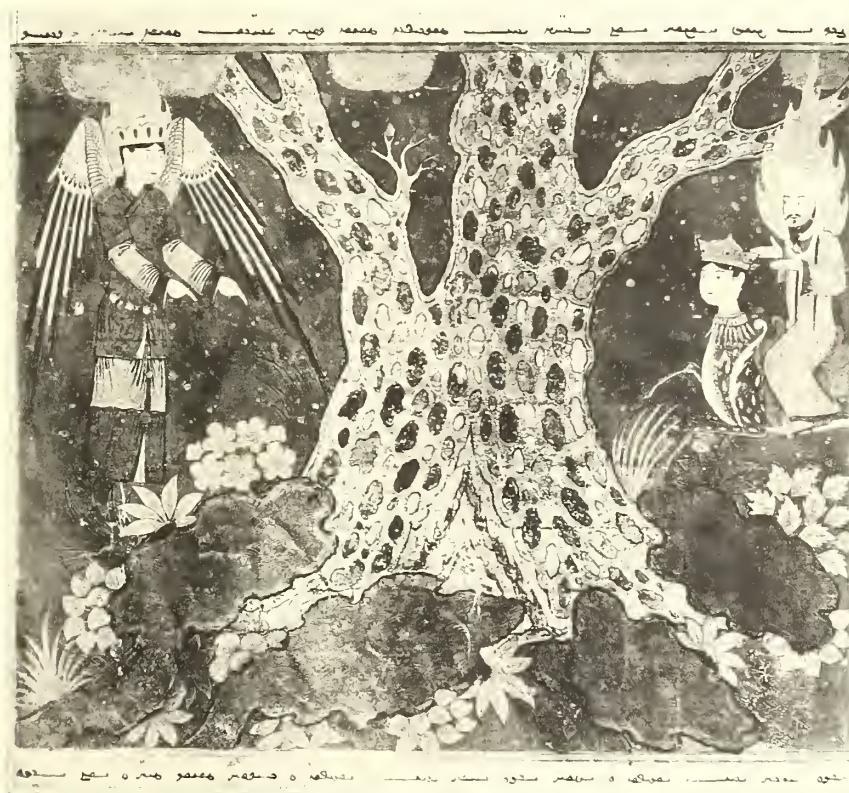


FIG. 10—ASCENT OF MUHAMMAD, *Mīrādī-Nāma*, 1436 A.D.  
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE





between the Musée Guimet and Lyons, reconsideration suggests that the one with the cocks (No. 219) is almost certainly Persian, while that with the enthroned king (No. 196) is more probably to be assigned to an Egyptian factory, if one may judge from the technique and coloring, though it must have followed a Persian model closely.

The diversity of the textiles was a matter of great interest to the specialist, and from the point of view of the organizers of an exhibition of Iranian art it may well be pardoned in view of the scarcity of purely Iranian examples and also because of the definitely Iranian character of much that was made elsewhere. But there is little excuse for the gross overcrowding of examples in the cases or for their unattractive arrangement. The whole room, in fact, failed to show that brilliance of presentation which one has become accustomed to associate with Paris.

The Islamic section of the exhibition was completely dominated by the paintings from manuscripts of the Mesopotamian or Abbaside school, which were shown on the walls of the great Salle Mazarin.

The Bibliothèque Nationale boasts the finest collection of early Persian manuscripts in the world. It has been for many years well-nigh inaccessible even to the most serious scholars; to the general public it has been almost completely unknown. Never before has it been possible to see simultaneously practically every miniature from each of the early manuscripts, and it will be many years before it is possible to do so again, for advantage was taken of the necessity to repair the bindings to take each volume to pieces and show the pages separately. When the exhibition is over, they will once more be rebound.

The arrangement of the pages was entirely original, for each was shown in a separate frame, the texts obscured by the mounts, and the subjects from each manuscript grouped together under such headings as landscapes, mosque scenes, or the chase, and shown in a series of panels, as can

be seen in Figure 6, where seven pages from the famous Schefer Ḥarīrī of 1237 appear.

So monumental is the composition of many of these pages, that their smallness of size is completely forgotten, and the tiny pages seem to take on before one the character of large-scale canvases. The specialist in Iranian literature may regret the obscuring of the texts, but to the student of art as a whole, the exhibition comes as an awakening, and Monsieur de Lorey, who was responsible for the arrangement, is to be heartily congratulated. It is also to him that we owe the admirable catalogue, which enables one not only to place the manuscripts in their correct setting, but also to become familiar with the very delightful tales which the paintings illustrate.

A few pages from all of the manuscripts—the famous camels from the Schefer Ḥarīrī, or the king of the hares from the Bidpai of 1220–30 for instance—are well known. But here we see almost hundreds of paintings, nearly all of them of considerable artistic merit. A few less familiar ones from this mass of richness are illustrated and discussed here.

Figure 7, from the Schefer Ḥarīrī (Bib. Nat. Arabe 5847, 9v.), shows a caravan resting at Damietta. The whole painting is characterized by the mastery of touch which we now associate with a definite figure in the history of painting, namely Wāsiṭī. It is by a striking economy of line that the gentle sleep of the figures in the background is indicated; the less tranquil rest of the camels is shown with that amazing forcefulness characteristic of the school. The play of lines, colors, or mass, which constitutes the build of the picture, is that of a great formal masterpiece, yet there is no loss in realism or lively interest. The word "expressionism," which has been employed in connection with most recent painting, is probably the best term to employ in describing such work.

In Figure 8, folio 69v. from the same manuscript is illustrated. It depicts a literary dis-



cussion in a garden at Baghdad. It is no less spirited and alive, and the contemplative look of the musician on the left and the realism of the water wheel in the background are especially delightful.

If the Schefer *Ḥarīrī* is the most outstanding manuscript, two other copies of the same work, that of 1222 (Bib. Nat. Arabe 6094) and that known as the Saint-Waast *Ḥarīrī* (Bib. Nat. Arabe 3929) are only slightly less important from the artistic point of view, while a copy of the fables of Bidpai (Bib. Nat. Arabe 3465) contains perhaps what are some of the most delightful scenes of all. Most of us are familiar to some extent with the tales this book contains, for they are known to the West as the fables of La Fontaine or Aesop. Never have they been so vividly illustrated, however, as in Mesopotamia between about 1220 and 1230. Figure 9 (folio 49v.), showing Dimna the Jackal paying court to the lion, is an excellent example of the work of this volume. A purely formal, two-dimensional, almost heraldic approach is here combined with an outstanding vitality, and the "expressionism" is especially marked. This approach is the more stressed in the coloring, which is forceful, yet strangely beautiful in its nonnaturalistic fantasy. (Two series of colored post cards and a few larger colored reproductions, which serve to give a very clear idea of the coloring, are on sale at the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Among later paintings of the Mesopotamian school an important series of examples is provided by the illustrations to a copy of a treatise on automata by al-*Djazarī*. The illustrations are now divided among several collections, and they have been assigned to various dates. But the greater part of the manuscript belongs to the library of St. Sophia at Istanbul, and as it is to be dated definitely to the year 1354, there seems no reason why the illustrations should not be assigned to about the same year. They serve to show that work in the Mesopotamian manner

continued to be produced well into the fourteenth century, though as early as 1310 the character of painting had in the main changed, and a new Eastern style had come to the fore, which is perhaps best represented by a copy of the history of *Rashīd al-Dīn*, now divided between Edinburgh University and the Royal Asiatic Society in London. This Eastern manner appears rather less purely in the illustrations of a large *Shāh-Nāma*, some of which were on view at the exhibition. It is usually known as the Demotte *Shāh-Nāma*, and is to be dated to about 1330.

In Monsieur de Lorey's opinion these pages show the work of the Tabriz school of painting at its height. Closely akin, though distinct, are a number of pages from smaller *Shāh-Nāmas*, which can be associated with Shiraz. The way in which the features that enable one to distinguish the Tabriz from the Shiraz school were brought out in the arrangement of the pages of the various fourteenth-century manuscripts was one of the most important services rendered to scholarship by the exhibition.

Some of the lightness and delicacy of these earlier fourteenth-century paintings survive in later Persian work, though they are often blended with something of the vigor of the Mesopotamian school. A hint of both can be seen in a painting such as that illustrated in Figure 10, a page from a *Mī'rādī-Nāma* of 1436 (Bib. Nat. Supp. Turc. 190, folio 34r.). Weakness is here already to some extent apparent, and the work has the character of a charming illustration rather than of a powerful canvas. This substitution of dreamy unreality for vital energy is in fact a characteristic of later Iranian painting, and even the works of the most famous masters, like Bihzād, seem to fall rather flat after the full majesty of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The display of later manuscripts in the ante-room of the Salle Mazarin was thus in a way disappointing, though it served admirably to com-

plete the history of Persian painting. The cases of pottery and metal work in the main room, however, seemed to have but little real object. Had examples in them been confined to those on which

human figures appeared, and had these been arranged beside contemporary manuscripts, more instructive and important results might well have been attained.

D. TALBOT RICE



## IN MEMORIAM

### HENRI C. GALLOIS

1885–1938

Am 17. Januar 1938 ist Dr. Henri C. Gallois, Hauptkonservator und Leiter der Abteilung für altes Kunstgewerbe am Gemeente Museum im Haag, ganz unerwartet verstorben.

Gallois, am 5. April 1885 in Batavia geboren, hat als Jurist in Leiden promoviert und war dann kurze Zeit am Kolonialministerium und an der Kgl. Bibliothek im Haag tätig. Nach archäologischen Studien an der École du Louvre trat er 1919 in die Dienste des Städtischen Museums im Haag, dessen rühriger und energischer Direktor Dr. H. E. van Gelder ihm den Ausbau der kunstgewerblichen Sammlungen anvertraute. Die reichen, in dem schönen Neubau am Stadhouderslaan vorbildlich aufgestellten Bestände bekunden, was aus bescheidenen Anfängen in zwei Jahrzehnten umsichtiger und erfolgreicher Erwerbspolitik hier geleistet worden ist.

Die besondere Liebe unseres Kollegen Gallois galt der islamischen Kunst, von der er durch vorsichtige und geschickte Ankäufe eine kleine, aber qualitätvolle und vielseitige Sonderabteilung zusammenbrachte, die in der Fachwelt viel Beachtung gefunden hat. Eine reichhaltige und geschmackvoll aufgebaute Ausstellung islamischer Kunst, die er 1927 veranstaltete, verfehlte nicht ihre werbende Wirkung auf weitere Kreise des holländischen Publikums.

In den amtlichen *Mededeelingen*, in den *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, deren Mitglied er war, in *Aréthuse* und anderen Zeitschriften hat Gallois in inhaltreichen Aufsätzen seine Neuerwerbungen bekannt gemacht und zu Spezialproblemen, wie dem der Herkunft der Lüsterkeramik, wiederholt Stellung genommen.

Gallois war in erster Linie Museumsman, ein feinfühlig, sorgfältig abwägender Kenner, ein begeisterter Bewunderer vor allem keramisch schöner Arbeit. Denjenigen, die beruflich mit ihm zu tun hatten, war er stets ein gefälliger, für alle Streitfragen interessierter Kollege, und wer ihm menschlich näher stand, besass in ihm einen treuen, aufrechten und unbedingt zuverlässigen Freund. Als einen der wenigen, die auf unserem Spezialgebiet mit steigendem Erfolg tätig waren, werden wir alle ihn in unserer Mitte schmerzlich vermissen.

ERNST KÜHNEL

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*Arranged According to Subject*

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# ARS ISLAMICA

THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART • INSTITUTE  
OF FINE ARTS • UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • ANN ARBOR

## SUPPLEMENT

### I. PRELIMINARY MATERIALS FOR A DICTIONARY OF ISLAMIC ARTISTS



## EDITORIAL

**I**N Volume III of *ARS ISLAMICA* the Research Seminary in Islamic Art announced a plan to establish a special supplementary section in this periodical, to be devoted to the presentation of preliminary materials for a proposed "Dictionary of Islamic Artists." Accumulated items permit the commencement of regular publication, and it is believed that with the collaboration of leading scholars in the fields of art, history, literature, epigraphy, etc., this difficult task will be successfully realized during a period of some years.

The materials in this supplement, being of a preliminary nature, and subject to corrections, revisions, and additions, will be presented without alphabetical order and in the form generally accepted for encyclopedic works such as Thieme-Becker's *Kunstlerlexikon*. After preliminary publication in three languages the items will be organized in the Research Seminary for the final printing in English in book form. A special circular outlining the technical details and the organization will be sent to all interested in collaborating.

It is hoped that this new venture of the Research Seminary in Islamic Art will have the same reception and generous co-operation of all students with which it is honored in the successful publication of *ARS ISLAMICA*.

## PRELIMINARY MATERIALS FOR A DICTIONARY OF ISLAMIC ARTISTS

### SINĀN BEY

Court painter under Sultan Mehmet II (1451–81 A.D.). Mentioned by Muṣṭafa 'Ālī (1926, p. 68) as follows:

رومی مصور لردن قسطنطينيه فاتحي وغزاة سلاطين عثمانيه نك  
جليل المدايحي سلطان محمد خان عليه الرحمة والرضوان  
حرم جنت مكانده حاصل اولموش مصور سنائيك فرنك  
استاد لرندن و نديكده نشو و نما بولمش و وادي سنده سربلند  
نقاشان اولموش ماستوري ياولي نام افرنجي نك شاكرديدر  
و مزبور ياولي دخي داميان نام رسام مهارت نشانك تلميذ  
مساعديدر و مسفور سنان بيك شاكردى شبلى زاده احمد  
دخي واردركه بروسويدر شبيه يازمهده نقاشان رومك  
بهتريدر

Thus, Sinān Bey was brought up in the court of the conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet II, and was the pupil of the Venetian painter Māstorī Pāwlī, who was the pupil of a painter named Dāmīyān. There was also a pupil of Sinān Bey by the name Shiblī Zāde Ahmed, from Brussa.

On the basis of this sixteenth-century information J. von Karabacek identified Sinān Bey with Gentile Bellini, stating that the famous Venetian painter, who was invited to Istanbul in 1479, was called Sinān Bey by the Turks.

A fortunate discovery by Hasan Fehmi, the former director of the museum in Brussa, sheds fresh light on the question of the personality of the painter Sinān Bey and corrects the assumption of von Karabacek (1918). That Sinān Bey was a native of Turkey and court painter of Sultan Mehmet II and that he died in Brussa is definitely corroborated by his tombstone, now in the museum of that city (Hasan Fehmi, 1928, p. 401). On the artistically carved headstone is the following inscription in Arabic:

المرحوم المغفور صاحب القبر السعيد الشهيد المحتاج الى  
رحمة الله تعالى نقاش سلطان محمد سنان بك ابن (سعاتي)  
نور الله المومنون لا يموتون بل ينقلون من دار الفنا الى  
دار البقا

The owner of this tomb, who received the mercy and

the forgiveness; the blessed one, the martyr of the faith, who is in the need of mercy of exalted Allāh, is the painter of Sultan Mehmed, Sinān Bey ibn [S'āti?]. God may illuminate [his tomb]. The faithful do not die, they remove only from the house of evanescence into the house of perseverance.

(In the usual saying نور الله قبره the word قبره is missing, very likely because of the mistake of the designer or stone carver.)

In the medallion of the footstone is another short inscription of the following text:

صاحبه القبر نقاش سنان

The owner of this tomb is Naḳḳāsh Sinān.

The concordance between the information of Muṣṭafa 'Ālī and that of the tombstone leaves no doubt that Sinān Bey was not the Turkish name of Gentile Bellini (cf. also Tahsin Öz, 1936, Vol. III).

The date of his death and his works are unknown. It is hoped that a careful examination of the miniature collection in the Topkapu Saray Müzesi in Istanbul may bring to light some of his paintings which will reveal his style and above all his relation with the Italian painters active in Istanbul during his time. Basil Gray (1932, p. 5, Pl. IIa) is inclined to attribute a drawing representing the conqueror (Muraqqa' No. 1720 of the Topkapu Saray Müzesi) to Shiblī Zāde Ahmed, which can also be assigned as a work of Sinān Bey. Such attributions will remain problematic until we have an authentic original work from the painter's hand.

Sinān Bey must have been a painter of ability, since he enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Mehmet II, whose appreciation for art is evidenced by his invitation to Gentile Bellini.

Bibliography: Muṣṭafa 'Ālī, *Munakib-i Hünerwaran* (Istanbul, 1926), p. 68; C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman* (Paris, 1908), p. 341; J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1918); F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912), I, 133; Halil Edhem, *Elvahi nakshiye koleksionu* (Istanbul, 1924), p. 13; Hasan



Fehmi, "San'at tarihimize ayit bazı notlar," *Türkiyat macmuası*, II (1928), 41; Tahsin Öz, "Barbarsosun otantik vesmi," *Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografiya Dergisi*, III (1936); Basil Gray, "Two Portraits of Mehmet II," *Burlington Mag.*, LXI (1932), 5, Pl. IIa; for Gentile Bellini's activity in Istanbul cf.: Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Muhammad II* (Paris, 1888); F. Gilles de la Tourette, *L'Orient et les peintres de Venise* (Paris, 1924), pp. 84 ff.

M. AGA-ÖGLÜ

### ‘ALĪ B. ḤADĪDJĪ AḤMED TEBRİZĪ

Holzskulpteur, der am Bau der Türbe Mehmed's I. (Yeshil Türbe) in Brussa beschäftigt war. Seine Meisterinschrift findet sich an der Tür der Türbe: عمل علی بن حاجی | احمد تبریزی

Werk des ‘Alī b. Ḥadīdjī Aḥmed aus Tebriz.

Ob er auch die skulptierten Holzteile (Türen und Fensterläden) der Moschee (Yeshil Djāmi‘) angefertigt hat, ob er nur einer der an diesem Bau beschäftigten Holzskulpteure, oder deren Obermeister, endlich ob und wie weit die Entwürfe zu seinen Arbeiten von ihm selbst stammen, oder von Naḳḳāsh ‘Alī (s.d.), der wahrscheinlich die künstlerische Oberleitung der dekorativen Ausschmückung der Bauten Mehmed's I. in Brussa hatte—das alles ist nicht zu entscheiden (s. auch Art. ‘Ivaḏ Pascha).

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 147; Hasan Fehmi, "San'at tarihimize ayit bazı notlar," *Türkiyat macmuası*, II (1928), S. 401.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### CHRISTODULOS

Angeblicher Baumeister der *Khodāvendkjār*-Moschee (Moschee Murād's I.) in Çekirge bei Brussa (vgl. Edhem Pascha, *Ottomanische Baukunst*, Konstantinopel, 1873, S. 3; H. Wilde, *Brussa*, Berlin, 1909, S. 12 ff.). Doch liegt hier offenbar Verwechselung vor mit dem griechischen Meister dieses Namens, der nach einer griechischen Sage der Erbauer der Fātiḥmoschee in Konstantinopel sein soll.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner und P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Djandarlyzāde (14./15. Jhd.) und ihre Denkmäler," *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), S. 64, Anm.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### ḤADĪDJĪ MŪSĀ

Baumeister an der Moschee des *Djandarli Kara Khalīl Pasha* (Yeshil Djāmi‘) in Isnik; nennt sich auf der Inschrift des später vorgesetzten Prunktores von 794 H. (1391–92 A.D.):

بانيه حاجی موسی

Ihr (der Moschee) Erbauer ist Ḥadīdjī Mūsā.

Ob seine Tätigkeit sich nur auf dieses Tor bezieht, oder ob er als der Baumeister der ganzen Moschee, die 780 H. (1378 A.D.) datiert ist, anzusehen ist, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner und P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Djandarlyzāde (14./15. Jhd.) und ihre Denkmäler," *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), S. 65 ff., dazu Abb. 3 auf Taf. I; C. Gurlitt, "Die islamischen Bauten von Isnik (Nicaea)," *Orientalisches Archiv*, III (1912–13), S. 56 ff., dazu Abb. 8 und 9 auf Taf. XIII.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### MEḤEMMED AL-MADJNŪN

Türk. etwa Deli Mehmed "der Besessene." Fayencekünstler, der am Bau der Moschee Mehmed's I. (Yeshil Djāmi‘) in Brussa mitgewirkt hat. Seine Meisterinschrift befindet sich auf einer Fliese in der Sultansloge: عمل محمد المجنون

Werk des Meḥemmed al-medjñūn.

Wahrscheinlich gehörte er zu den "Meistern aus Tebriz" (*ustādān-i Tebriz*), die, wie uns eine kleine Fayenceinschrift am Mihrāb dieser Moschee unterrichtet, deren Fayenceverkleidung und wohl auch die der Yeshil Türbe anzufertigen hatten: عمل استادان تبریز

Werk der Meister aus Tebriz.

vermutlich war er ihr Obmann. Wie weit die Fayencedekoration im Entwurf seine und seiner Mitarbeiter eigene Arbeit ist, und wie weit sie von Naḳḳāsh ‘Alī (s.d.), der wahrscheinlich die künstlerische Oberleitung bei der dekorativen Ausschmückung der Moschee hatte, dirigiert

war, lässt sich nicht entscheiden (s. auch Art. 'Ivaż Pasha). Die Fayenceverkleidung der Moschee und der Türbe sind stilistisch einheitlich, gehen also im Entwurf wohl auf einen Meister zurück; nur das Fayencemihırab der Türbe weicht technisch wie stilistisch ab.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 144 ff., 151.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### HĀDJĪDĪ 'ALĪ

Baumeister der Türbe des Hādjīdī Hamza Beg in Isnik von 750 H. (1349 A.D.). Er ist genannt in der Bauinschrift mit den Worten:

وكان المعمار الحاجي علي (sic!)

Der Baumeister war Hādjīdī 'Alī.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 111.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### 'ALĪ B. ḤUSAIN

Baumeister der von Emir Süleiman errichteten Türbe für Bayezid I. in Brussa von 809 H. (1406 A.D.). Seine Meisterinschrift lautet:

(1) قد وقع الفراغ (2) من هذه العمارة المبار (3) و  
كة على يد العبد الضعيف على بن (4) حسين غفر  
الله لهما (5) في ربيع الاخر لسنة تسع وثمانمائة

Die Beendigung dieses hehren Bauwerkes fand statt durch die Hand des armseligen Knechtes 'Alī b. Ḥusain—Gott verzeihe ihnen beiden—im Rebī' II, 809 H. (beg. 15. IX. 1406 A.D.).

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 138 ff.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

### 'IVAŽ PASHA

Mit vollem Namen 'Imād al-daulah wad-dīn Hādjīdī 'Ivaż pasha b. Akhī Bāyezīd b. 'Ivaż, osmanischer Vezir unter Mehmed I. und Murād II., Baubevollmächtigter und wohl zugleich Architekt der Moschee und Türbe Mehmed's I.

(*Yeshil Djāmi'* und *Yeshil Türbe*) in Brussa.

Stammt aus dem Orte Beg Ovasi bei Tokat in No-Anatolien, wo sein Vater *Akhī Bāyezīd*, der als al-ṣadr al-kabīr bezeichnet wird, also ein hohes geistliches Amt bekleidet hat, begraben ist. 'Ivaż selbst scheint auch dem geistlichen Stande angehört zu haben; jedenfalls wird er als *Dānīshmend* (Träger geistlicher Bildung) bezeichnet. Auf der anderen Seite berichtet aber 'Alī, er sei ein Spahi mit einem Kleinlehen (Tīmār) von 3000 Aktsche gewesen; doch kann es sich hier, wenn diese Nachricht überhaupt zutreffend ist, um eine später erfolgte Belohnung für seine Verdienste gehandelt haben. Wahrscheinlich ist 'Ivaż z.Z. als Mehmed I. in Amasia Hof hielt, mit diesem in Beziehung getreten und mit ihm nach Brussa gegangen.

Bei der Belagerung Brussas durch die Karamanen i.J. 1413 war 'Ivaż Subaṣhī (Präfekt) von Brussa und vereitelte durch seine Massnahmen die Einnahme der Zitadelle durch die Karamanen, während die Unterstadt von ihnen niedergebrannt wurde. 'Alī setzt mit dieser Tat seine Beförderung zum Vezir in Zusammenhang.

Als solcher wurde 'Ivaż Pasha von Mehmed I. zu seinem Baubevollmächtigten (*binā emīnī*) für den Bau seiner Moschee und Türbe (*Yeshil Djāmi'* und *Yeshil Türbe*) in Brussa gemacht; jedenfalls bezeichnet sich 'Ivaż in der Inschrift auf der Holztür der Türbe als Vezir (*wazīr ṣāhib-tadbīr*):

بشارة وزير صاحب تدبير | حاجي عوض ابن اخي بايزيد

[Diese Türbe wurde gebaut] nach Anweisung des Vezirs, des Inhabers der Regierungsvollmacht, Hādjīdī 'Ivaż b. Akhī Bāyezīd.

Auf seinen Auftrag als Baubevollmächtigter bezieht sich die in derselben Inschrift für seine Tätigkeit benutzte Ausdruck "Anweisung" (*isharah*). In seiner Inschrift am Portal der Moschee erhebt indessen 'Ivaż Pasha einen grösseren geistigen Anspruch:

(1) راقه وناظمه ومقنن قوانينه اقل خدم بانيه

(2) حاجي عوض بن اخي بايزيد غفر لهما

Sein (des Bauwerkes) Aufzeichner, sein Ordner, und der Aufsteller seiner Massverhältnisse ist der geringste



der Diener seines Erbauers, Hādjdjī 'Ivaż b. Akhī Bāyezīd—ihnen beiden möge verziehen werden!

Er nennt sich hier den "Zeichner (rākīm), Ordner (nāzīm, soll wohl heissen den für die baukünstlerische Gestaltung Verantwortlichen) und Aufsteller den Massverhältnisses" des Baues (mukannin Kawānīnihi, etwa nach einem Kanon?), d.h. also mit einem Wort als den Architekten des Baues. Damit stimmt zusammen, einmal dass sonst ein Architekt inschriftlich nicht bezeugt ist (wir haben Inschriften von Meistern, die Einzelaufgaben der künstlerischen Ausschmückung zu erfüllen hatten [s.u.], aber keine weitere Baumeisterinschrift); zum anderen dass, wie Hasan Fehmi hervorgehoben hat, 'Ivaż Pasha offenbar auch sonst sich als Techniker betätigt hat (seine Massnahmen zur Verteidigung von Brussa lagen auf kriegstechnischem Gebiete, in Adrianopel soll er Einrichtungen zur Wasserversorgung getroffen haben usw.). Jedenfalls hat sich 'Ivaż Pasha beim Bau der *Yeshil Djāmi'* nicht mit der Rolle eines Bevollmächtigten des Bauherrn, dem die verwaltungstechnische Oberleitung des Baues oblag, begnügt, sondern er hat in die architektonische Ausgestaltung des Baues eingegriffen und hat seinen diesbezüglichen Anteil am Bau so eingeschätzt, dass er sich berechtigt glaubte, sich selbst als den Architekten zu bezeichnen.

In seine Tätigkeit als Baubevollmächtigten gehört aber eine für die gesamte osmanische Kunst der Folgezeit wichtige Massnahme, die 'Āshikpaşahazāde mit den Worten bezeichnet: "er war es, der zuerst von anderen Ländern Künstler und Meister nach Rum (d.i. das osmanische Reich) brachte." Dieses Faktum ist auch inschriftlich bezeugt, und zwar erfahren wir, woher er diese Künstler kommen liess: das prachtvolle Fayencemihrāb der Moschee ist inschriftlich als "Werk von Meistern aus Tebriz" bezeichnet und an der Holztür der Türbe hat sich ein Meister 'Alī aus Tebriz verewigt. Es waren also persische, aus Tebriz stammende Meister, die 'Ivaż Pasha zur dekorativen Ausschmückung der *Yeshil Djāmi'* und *Yeshil Türbe* nach Brussa berief. Die

Oberleitung über diese hatte er wahrscheinlich dem *Naqqāsh 'Alī b. Ilyās 'Alī* (s.d.) übertragen, der auch selbst, obwohl aus Brussa stammend, eine Zeit lang im Osten, am Hofe Timurs gelebt hatte. So hat 'Ivaż Pasha durch seine Tätigkeit am Bau der *Yeshil Djāmi'*, die ja der erste osmanische Bau ist, bei dem in ausgiebigem Masse Fayenceverkleidung verwendet ist, die frühosmanische Kunst durch Kräfte aus Persien, wo die timuridische Kunst blühte, befruchtet. Da der Baukomplex der *Yeshil Djāmi'* zweifellos als die bedeutendste künstlerische Aufgabe zu gelten hat, die in der damaligen Zeit in der Türkei zu erfüllen war, eine Aufgabe, an der gewiss alles, was an Kunsthandwerkern aufzutreiben war, sich geschult hat, so ist mit dieser Verbindung mit der frühtimuridischen Kunst Persiens ein für die Geschichte der osmanischen Kunst wichtiges Faktum gegeben.

Der Bau der *Yeshil Djāmi'* ist laut Hauptbauinschrift am Portal Ende 822 H. (Jahreswende 1419–20 A.D.) errichtet worden; ihre dekorative Ausschmückung (*naqqāsh*, zu der ausser den Steinskulpturen, die schon während des Baues eingefügt werden mussten, die Ausmalung, die Fayenceverkleidung des Inneren und die Einfügung der skulptierten Holzteile gehörte, hat noch drei weitere Jahre in Anspruch genommen und ist laut Inschrift des *Naqqāsh 'Alī* im Inneren der Moschee im Ramażan 827 H. (Aug., 1424 A.D.) vollendet worden.

Weitere Werke des 'Ivaż Pasha, die aber wohl nur als seine Stiftungen anzusprechen sind, sind eine Medrese (*Quazzāzīye Medresesi*) und *Mesdjid* in Brussa und eine Medrese mit Derwischklausen (*zāwiye*) in seiner Heimat, der Ebene von Tokat (*Qaz Ova*); vielleicht auch eine Moschee mit Medrese in Tokat selbst (gestiftet 1407–08. Ansserdem trägt ein *Mesdjid* in Ankara seinen Namen.

'Ivaż Pasha hat dann bei der Regierungsübernahme durch Murād II. und bei dessen Kampf gegen den "falschen Muṣṭafa" (Schlacht an der Brücke von Ulubad), zusammen mit seinen Mitveziren Ibrāhim Pasha und Bāyezīd

Pasha, eine bedeutende politische Rolle gespielt. Die Chronisten berichten dann, dass er beim Sultan in Ungnade gefallen und von ihm geblendet worden sei; doch sind die Berichte darüber sehr unsicher und tragen anekdotenhaften Charakter. Das gleiche gilt von den Berichten über sein Zerwürfnis mit dem mächtigen Kađi von Brussa, Mollā Fenārī.

Auch über seinen Tod bestehen widersprechende Nachrichten: Neşhrī behauptet, er sei an der Pest gestorben; Hüsameddīn Hüseyin möchte an eine Exekution glauben. Sicher ist nur das durch seine Grabinschrift bezeugte Todesdatum: es ist der 9. Zilqa'da 831 H. (20. VIII. 1428 A.D.) 'Ivaż Pasha ist auf dem Friedhof von Bunarbashi bei Brussa begraben. Sein Sohn war der als Dichter unter dem Namen 'Atā'ī bekannte Aki Čelebi, der Muḥarrem 841 H. (Juli 1437 D.) gestorben ist und an der Seite seines Vaters bestattet ist.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 143, 146 ff., 150, 154 ff., woselbst man die Einzelbelege zu den angeführten Gegebenheiten nachlesen möge. 'Ivaż Pashas Grab abgeb. in *Der Islam*, 22, 1934, Taf. 9.

FRANZ TAESCHNER

#### 'ALĪ B. ILYĀS 'ALĪ

Gen. 'Alī an-Naḳḳāsh oder Naḳḳāsh 'Alī, Meister der dekorativen Ausstattung der Moschee und wohl auch der Türbe Mehmeds I. (Yeshil Djāmi' und Yeshil Türbe) in Brussa. Stammte aus Brussa, wurde aber bei der Einnahme seiner Vaterstadt durch Timūr von diesem mit nach Transoxanien (nach Belīg genauer: nach Samarkand) genommen, wo er die Kunst des naḳsh (Malerei, aber wohl in einem umfassenderen Sinne: Zeichenkunst und dekorative Kunst) erlernt habe. Nach der Türkei zurückgekehrt, soll er der erste gewesen sein, der hier "verzierte Sättel" (as-surūdī al-munaḳḳashah) angefertigt habe.

Wann Naḳḳāsh 'Alī nach der Türkei zurückgekehrt ist, ist nicht bekannt. Es liegt aber nahe,

zu vermuten, dass er mit zu den Meistern gehörte, die 'Ivaż Pasha (s.d.), der Bevollmächtigte des Sultans für den Bau der Yeshil Djāmi' aus dem Osten nach Brussa kommen liess. 'Ivaż Pasha scheint ihm einen grossen Teil, wenn nicht die gesamte künstlerische Leitung der dekorativen Ausschmückung der Moschee und Türbe Mehmed's I in Brussa übertragen zu haben. Jedenfalls deutet die an prominenter Stelle (über der Sultansloge im Innern der Moschee) angebrachte Steininschrift des Naḳḳāsh 'Alī auf einen umfassenderen Auftrag:

(1) قد تم نقش هذه العمارة الشريفة بيد اقر الناس

على بن الياس على

(2) في اواخر رمضان المبارك سنة سبع وعشرين وثمانمائة

Die Dekorierung dieses heiligen Baues wurde vollendet durch die Hand des geringsten der Menschen, 'Alī b. Ilyās 'Alī in der zweiten Dekade des gesegneten Ramazān des Jahres 827 H. (Mitte Aug. 1424 A.D.).

Das für diesen Auftrag in der Inschrift verwendete Wort naḳsh ist sicher nicht in dem engen Sinne "Malerei" zu verstehen (dem Maler hätte man gewiss nicht die Erlaubnis zur Setzung dieser Steininschrift gegeben), sondern bezieht sich wohl auf die gesamte dekorativ Ausschmückung des Baues. Ausser der Ausmalung der Innenwände wird darunter zum mindesten wohl auch der Entwurf zu den ornamentalen Dekorationen am Portal, den Aussenmihrābs und den Fenstern gehört haben, die dann von den Steinmetzen auszuführen gewesen sind. Ob auch der Entwurf für die Fayencefliesen, mit denen der Unterteil der Wände im Innern der Moschee, das Innenmihrāb und die Einzelgemächer und Logen ausgelegt sind, sowie der für die Holzskulpturen an den Türen und Fensterläden von ihm stammt, muss natürlich dahingestellt bleiben. Der einheitliche Ornamentstil an allen Bauteilen der Moschee und der Türbe, gleichgiltig welchen Materials (ausgenommen das Fayencemihrāb in der Türbe), lässt diese Vermutung hegen. In diesem Falle hätten die "Meister aus Tebriz," die laut Inschrift am Moscheemihrāb, die Fayencearbeiten auszuführen hatten, wie Mehmed al-medjīnūn (s.d.),



nach Naḳḳāsh 'Alī's Entwürfen zu arbeiten gehabt; und ein gleiches gälte vielleicht auch für die Holzskulpteure, wie den Tebrizer 'Alī b. Ḥādīdī Aḥmed (s.d.).

Von den Malereien, mit denen die Innenwände der Moschee und der Türbe geschmückt waren, und in denen Naḳḳāsh 'Alī's Kunst am unmittelbarsten in Erscheinung getreten sein dürfte, ist nichts mehr erhalten; wenn nicht früher, so sind sie den Restaurationen nach dem Erdbeben von 1855 zum Opfer gefallen. Dagegen haben wir in den ungemein phantasie vollen ornamentalen Steinskulpturen des Aussenbaues ein wohl sicheres Zeugnis von Naḳḳāsh 'Alī's künstlerischem Stil noch vor uns, und ist wohl auch berechtigt, in gewisser Weise auch das Zeichnerische der auf den Fayencen und den Holzteilen, zum mindesten der Moschee, enthaltenen Ornamente mit heranzuziehen. Durch die hohe künstlerische

Qualität dieser Werke können wir die Bedeutung des Naḳḳāsh 'Alī für die nachfolgende osmanische Kunst ermessen, die noch durch den Umstand hervorgehoben wird, dass Naḳḳāsh 'Alī nachweislich künstlerische Eindrücke von der am Hofe Timurs gepflegten Kunst erfahren hat.

Naḳḳāsh 'Alī war — vielleicht durch seine künstlerisch hochwertige Tätigkeit an der Yeşil Džāmi' — ein vermögender Mann. Er hat in der Oberstadt von Brussa ein Mesdjid gestiftet, bei dem er und seine Familie begraben liegt. Sein Todesjahr ist nicht bekannt. Sein Enkel war der Dichter Lāmi'ī.

Literatur: Fr. Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie," *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), S. 143 ff., 151, 166 ff., wo selbst man die Einzelnachweise für die angeführten Tatsachen nachlesen möge.

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